



Daily Report

East Europe

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14 August 1989

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14 August 1989

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Asymmetry in EC-CEMA Relations Reviewed
AU1108110689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
10 Aug 89 p 6

[Article by Docent Engineer Jaroslav Jaks, candidate of sciences, of the Advanced School of Economy, Prague: "New Stage in EEC-CEMA Relations; Both Cooperation and Rivalry"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] **The socialist countries affiliated in CEMA—despite the respectable results achieved in the postwar years—have slowed down the pace of integration in recent years.** Some divergent tendencies have strengthened. The efforts aimed at restructuring the integration mechanism are asserting themselves. The prerequisites necessary to embark upon the path leading toward the socialist single market are being weighed, but there are still many obstacles. At the same time, the search for a more dynamic model of international socialist economic cooperation does not proceed in a vacuum. It is totally influenced by the all-European process and the European Community's [EC] interest in persuading those CEMA countries which are interested in cooperation. Also, the domestic political developments in some European socialist countries must not be underestimated, developments which are oriented toward preferring the "pro-Western openness" of economies. Is all this in harmony with the construction of the "common European home" or, on the contrary, is it a factor that complicates it?

Disproportions in Normalization of Relations

The normalization of relations between the EC and CEMA in June 1988 has created a legal framework for contacts, the concrete implementation of which is, above all, within the power of the individual CEMA countries which, thus far, have no coordinated policy in this respect which would be as effective as that of the EC. The course of the talks with the individual socialist countries to date fully bears this out; **what comes to the foreground are political viewpoints, especially the assessment of the "market intensity" of the restructuring processes and the changes in the economic-political philosophy.** The CEMA countries, which from this viewpoint (including the human rights issue) enjoy a "positive assessment" in Brussels, can count on more generosity in the EC's attitude toward further possibilities of cooperation.

East-West Relations

A study of the so-called trilateral commission addressing East-West issues under the conditions of restructuring (authors: Nakasone, d'Estaing, Kissinger) stresses that "one has to pay exceptional attention to the political future of the East European countries which are Warsaw

Pact members," and that one has to reckon with "Europe returning to more natural relations when those countries express their own attitude toward West Europe and its political structure."

The concept of the so-called West European institutions vis a vis the socialist countries is without doubt a step toward the convergence of the divided Europe, but again on a fairly asymmetrical basis. One cannot fail to see that the West European countries show no interest in entering East European structures but, on the contrary, regard the "unification of Europe" to be a matter-of-course precisely when the socialist countries' contacts with their institutions intensify. The study even recommends that in the future the EC should contemplate the possibility of also applying the article on association with the EC to those CEMA countries which show interest in this.

The more the economic-strategic factors become the crucial criteria of contacts, the more the contradictory dialectics of the contemporary stage of the all-European process will become evident. Unfortunately, these factors reflect considerable asymmetry between the economic performance and the domestic political influence of the two economic organizations. Here no laments or building of a new Wall of China will help; **the obvious solution—in accordance with the conclusions of the highest party and state bodies of the CEMA countries—is the parallel approach.** That means intensifying everything that strengthens coordination, including the restructuring processes, with the objective of strengthening socialism in a modern form, while at the same time making use of the all-European process and all forms of economic and technological cooperation to achieve this. This two-in-one approach will also fully reflect the class realities of Europe which, despite the diminishing risk of military confrontation, remains a place where two differing social systems are rivals.

International Nuclear Energy Conference Concludes
AU2007114189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 19 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "International Conference on Nuclear Power Plants"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [18 July] representatives of the state control organs of Bulgaria, the CSSR, the GDR, and the USSR, which are working in the field of the peaceful use of nuclear energy, concluded their 2-day conference at the GDR State Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection in Berlin. Proceeding from the safety recommendations worked out by the IAEA, which reflect the worldwide consensus on a number of problems of nuclear safety, specific questions of further developing the safety of nuclear power plant reactors in the countries represented at the conference were discussed.

Carcani, Mihali Pay Visit to Korce District

*AU1208154789 Tirana ATA in English
0740 GMT 12 Aug 89*

[Text] Tirana, August 12 ATA—Recently, Comrade Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, paid visits to Korce District. As soon as he arrived there, he laid a bouquet of flowers to the monument of our beloved and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

On August 10, Comrade Adil Carcani took part in the harvest festival organized in the "Enver Hoxha" Agricultural Enterprise of Plase, Hero of Socialist Labor. Present were also the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee, Qirjako Mihali; the first secretary of the party committee of the district, Vangjel Cerrava; and other comrades.

Here, Comrade Adil Carcani met cordially with vanguard working people of the enterprise. On this occasion, he placed a bouquet of flowers at the bust of Comrade Enver Hoxha. He greeted those present on behalf of the party Central Committee and personally of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Ramiz Alia. He emphasized that the success in overfulfilling the plan of wheat production is an homage to the name of the glorious Enver Hoxha, after whom the enterprise is named.

In Plase, Comrade Adil Carcani met with cadres and leading cadres and specialists of the agricultural enterprises of the district, who informed him of the scientific work carried out to wheat and the results attained in this crop as well as of the development of live-stock, arboriculture, vegetables, etc.

Comrade Adil Carcani met also with leading cadres of Devoll zone, who informed him of the good results they have attained in the development of agriculture and husbandry, the ever better supply of the people etc. During his stay in Korce, Comrade Adil Carcani went also to the "1 May" coal mine in Mborje-Drenove, Hero of Socialist Labor. He had a meeting with leading cadres of the party and power of the districts of Korce, Pogradec, Kolonje, and leading cadres of the mining enterprises of these districts. Likewise, he met also with working people and cadres of the food-stuff enterprise.

Gegprifti Comments on Improving Efficiency
AU0908094889

[Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 5 August carries on page 2 a 1,200-word article by Llambi Gegprifti, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Politburo candidate member, entitled "A Movement of Great Value." The article examines "the movement to increase the effectiveness of social production, started by the working people of Tirana District." According to the article, the aims of the movement are to increase "accumulation and financial resources," "to better coordinate technical, economic, and financial

aspects of production," and "using the method of mass action, to put to use all machinery and equipment at present lying idle, before the end of September."

Economic Progress Report for 6-12 Aug
AU1208185189

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 6-12 August carries the following economic performance reports (time, date given in parentheses):

Gjirokaster District: The 7-month industrial production plan has been fulfilled by 102 percent. (1800 GMT 8 Aug 89)

Kolonje District: The overall industrial production plan for the 7-month period has been fulfilled. (1800 GMT 7 Aug 89)

Korce District: The industrial production plan up to 5 August has been fulfilled by 100 percent. (1800 GMT 9 Aug 89)

Lushnje District: The overall industrial production plan for the 7-month period has been fulfilled. (1800 GMT 6 Aug 89)

Pogradec District: The industrial production plan up to 5 August has been exceeded by 7 million leks. (1800 GMT 9 Aug 89)

Puke District: The overall industrial production plan has been fulfilled by 102 percent or 1.9 million leks over the target. (1800 GMT 11 Aug 89)

Leaders' Public Appearances for 5-11 Aug
AU1108195689

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 5-11 August reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time, date given in parentheses):

Adil Carcani, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, accompanied by Qirjako Mihali and Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members, "recently" attended a harvest festival at the "Enver Hoxha" State Agricultural Enterprise at Plase, Korce District. They also visited various cooperatives and enterprises. (1800 GMT 11 Aug 89)

Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, accompanied by Pirro Kondi and Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members, attended celebrations on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the First Albanian Antifascist Youth Congress in Helmes, Skrapar District, on 8 August. (1800 GMT 8 Aug 89)

Besnik Bektashi, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of industry, mines, and energy attended a meeting of oil workers in Vlore on 10 August on the occasion of the recent discovery of a gas field. (1800 GMT 10 Aug 89)

Extra Trains Added for Departing Muslims
AU1208194389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 10 Aug 89 p 2

[Text] Press center in Svilengrad, 9 August (Correspondent Andrey Andreev)—There is no end to the flow of Bulgarian citizens traveling to Turkey. They arrive at the border in private cars and taxis, trucks and buses, and by train. However, recently the reception on the Turkish side of those arriving by train has been restricted.

In view of the fact that the travelers are many in number and rather impatient, two additional trains were put in service last Tuesday, but they were not permitted to enter Turkey. The passengers were conveyed by bus to the Kapitan Andreevo border checkpoint, but the Turkish authorities refused to accept some of the Bulgarian citizens under the pretext that the capacities were restricted. Following meetings between the officers in charge of the two border posts, the problem was solved in favor of the travelers. Similar difficulties also occurred later the same evening.

Vasiliou Protests Settling Bulgarians in Cyprus
AU1108194689 Sofia BTA in English
1717 GMT 11 Aug 89

["Illegal Action"—BTA headline]

[Text] Nicosia, August 11 (BTA)—"An illegal, unacceptable and provocative action": This is how Mr Akis Fantis, the Cyprus Government spokesman, described the decision of the Turkish-Cypriot leadership to grant nine Muslim Bulgarians, members of two families, "citizenship" of the self-proclaimed "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus," which is only recognized by Turkey.

Today Mr Yeoryios Vasiliou, president of Cyprus, summoned the ambassadors of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and the special representative of the UN secretary general to Cyprus to hand them a protest in this connection. The protest "denounces the new illegal action by the Rauf Denktas regime and demands steps for its annulment," Mr Akis Fantis was quoted as saying by the Associated Press. "The main responsibility for the unacceptable action by the Denktas regime rests with Ankara," the government spokesman charged.

He emphasized that the latest action by Denktas was yet another attempt "to torpedo the peace initiative of the UN secretary general" on a settlement of the Cyprus problem.

The Greek Government seriously warned Ankara against allowing further Muslims to settle in the Turkish-occupied northern part of Cyprus.

Soviet Naval Ships Arrive in Varna on Visit
AU1108132089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1300 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] A group of Soviet naval vessels arrived today at the naval port in Varna. As the ships entered the Gulf of Varna, they were given an artillery salute. The Soviet visitors were welcomed by representatives of the Bulgarian Navy Command.

Viktor Sharapov, the Soviet ambassador to Bulgaria, was also present.

Zhivkov Meets With PCE's Anguita in Varna
AU1008195389 Sofia BTA in English
1752 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Varna, August 10 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, today conferred with Mr Julio Anguita, secretary general of the Communist Party of Spain (PCE), who is paying an official visit to Bulgaria.

In a candid and friendly atmosphere, they outlined the shared positions of the two parties on a number of pressing issues of our time and the specific tasks which are being fulfilled by Bulgarian and Spanish Communists.

The two leaders stressed that the current international situation is characterized above all by the positive tendencies which are gaining ground as a result of the assertion of new political thinking. The nuclear war threat is receding, the centre of gravity in state-to-state relations is shifting from confrontation to dialogue and mutually advantageous cooperation. The political settlement of regional conflicts is becoming an ever more common practice.

At the same time, the two parties voiced their concern over the attempts of the advocates of the confrontation approach to apply outdated methods for the settlement of global and regional problems from the position of strength. It was emphasized that under the circumstances, the only correct way is constructive dialogue and joint actions of the communists with all peace-loving and democratic forces in Europe for the sake of peace and disarmament. Efforts should be united for a solution in the best interests of the broad popular masses of the economic and ecological problems arising from the development of the scientific and technological revolution and affecting all countries.

The two leaders supported the idea of a common European home in a world without military threats, with full respect for human rights in their entirety.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Julio Anguita stressed the major credit which the dynamic and constructive policy implemented by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries takes for the progress of the positive tendencies

in the world. This policy is a natural outgrowth of the revolutionary process of restructuring, which was resolutely supported by the two leaders. The renewal of socialism in line with the new historical content of the age demonstrates its viability and shows the road which should be followed for the assertion of its advantages as a social system. Along with that, an emphasis was laid on the need of a non-dogmatic, creative approach, giving every country an opportunity to develop according to its own traditions and peculiarities.

Mr Todor Zhivkov told his guest about the restructuring under way in all spheres of Bulgaria's sociopolitical and economic life, as well as about the key points of the country's foreign policy line.

The secretary general of the Communist Party of Spain briefed his host on the Communists' activity in defence of the working people's interests and on the further expansion of the influence of the party and the united left movement in Spain and in Europe, which is evidenced by the encouraging results of the latest elections to the European Parliament.

Mr Julio Anguita supported Bulgaria's principled policy of maintaining and promoting relations of good-neighbourliness and cooperation in the Balkans, of strengthening peace and security in Europe and the world.

Mr Todor Zhivkov reaffirmed the Bulgarian Communist Party's consistent solidarity with the Communist Party of Spain and wished the united left every success in its growth and assertion as an important factor of Spain's political life.

The two leaders expressed readiness for the continued promotion of the traditional links of fraternal friendship and solidarity between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Spain on the basis of the common principles and ideals of socialism, for the sake of the friendship between the Bulgarian and the Spanish peoples, for the benefit of cooperation between Bulgaria and Spain.

Anguita Grants Interview

AU1208184289 Sofia BTA in English
1707 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] Varna, August 12 (BTA correspondent)—Interviewed for the BTA, Mr Julio Anguita, secretary general of the Communist Party of Spain [PCE], said there is a link between restructuring in the socialist countries and the struggle of the Communist Party of Spain and of the other communist parties in Western Europe. "The renewal brings us together because time poses its challenges: the need for economic growth, the prevention of an ecological disaster, the Third World problems," he said. "Essentially, the point is how our common ideology will match the specifics of the 21st century. That is why, when we speak of an international communist and workers' movement, we should know its answer to all

those questions. It cannot be a single answer but it should be an analogous answer so as to point the road to unity to all communist parties on our continent."

Mr Julio Anguita said the present-day growth of the Spanish economy was speculative. The country's GNP is rising 5.5 per cent annually. "If the figures are not accompanied by an in-depth analysis, they might be misinterpreted," he said. Facts show that Spain has the largest number of jobless people among the common market countries. Fifty-six per cent of unemployed Spaniards have been seeking work for more than a year. The jobs that are created stay open for no more than two or three months. According to official statistics, however, a person employed for just an hour a week is not considered jobless. In Madrid alone, 90,000 families now live below the poverty line. 42.6 per cent of the working people in the country have income lower than 50,000 pesetas, while monthly mortgage payments range between 100,000 and 120,000 pesetas. Foreign investment in technological equipment has shaken Spain's fragile economic structure without replacing it. All this is evidence that the growth is speculative, Mr Julio Anguita emphasized.

He laid down his party's stand on the single European market and the idea of a common European home. On these matters the party has drafted its own programme, which has been approved by the united left. It has two key points: First, the notion of Europe is not the same as a common West European market. "When we say that our continent will change, we have in mind the disbandment of the military blocs, the rallying of the public forces, the granting of real power to the European parliament which should enter in political dialogue with the socialist countries," Mr Julio Anguita emphasized. "Secondly, Europe should be capable of taking the lead in the settlement of the Third World problems: the foreign debts and the establishment of a new international economic order."

The secretary general of the PCE said that his party and the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] have always maintained very good relations, since the time of Georgi Dimitrov and Dolores Ibarruri and to this day. "Now these relations should be enhanced and channelled into building a new Europe," Mr Julio Anguita emphasized.

He commended highly Bulgaria's Balkan policy, stressing Sofia's untiring search for ways to turn the area into a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone, to find its own alternative, although great difficulties are encountered in this direction. "You have neighbours which do not belong to the socialist world and can serve as vehicles of interests from the other side of the Atlantic, I have in mind the United States of America," Mr Julio Anguita warned.

Zhivkov Meets With French Communist Leader

PM1108101889 Paris L'HUMANITE in French
7 Aug 89 p 10

[Unattributed report: "Opening Up New Prospects"]

[Text] Talks have taken place between Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and French Communist Party [PCF] delegations headed by BCP General Secretary Todor Zhivkov and PCF Secretary General Georges Marchais. The meeting was attended on the BCP side by Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Milko Balev and by Central Committee Secretary Dimitur Stanishev, and by PCF Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Maxime Gremetz.

During talks, which took place in a friendly and warm atmosphere, there was a broad exchange of views on the two parties' activity in their respective countries and on various aspects of the situation in the world.

The current changes in the socialist countries are influencing the contemporary world's development and are attracting the attention of international public opinion. Despite mistakes and distortions, the building of socialist societies has enabled the peoples in those countries to make major gains in all spheres of their development. Most of these countries are now involved in processes of far-reaching economic, social, and democratic reforms affecting all aspects of society's life and aimed at overcoming problems and making goodlags, and meeting the people's needs in light of contemporary requirements for development in the world.

Socialism is therefore changing in order to be more socialist. It can only demonstrate its superiority by making far-reaching reforms characterized by freedom and democracy.

Indeed, it is only socialism that is capable of guaranteeing progress and social justice, individual development, self-management, and human freedom.

The development of the scientific and technical revolution, the possibilities for disarmament, the rise in the demand for justice, freedom, independence, and peace give the prospect of a new world which needs active, free, and conscious intervention if it is to be built.

From this viewpoint, the objective need for developing a constructive dialogue and joint action among communist parties on a bilateral and multilateral basis was stressed. The importance of dialogue and action with all forces in Europe and the world which love peace and democracy to safeguard mankind and social progress was also highlighted.

Todor Zhivkov and Georges Marchais again stressed their active and determined support for the revolutionary restructuring process which has been started in all spheres of life in the USSR. They expressed the

importance they attach to each people's need to determine their own path of development based on their own characteristics and traditions.

Capitalism cannot provide the answers required by the new historical challenges now facing men and peoples. Its policy aggravates the problems for the majority of people in the developed capitalist countries and in Third World countries which are increasingly dependent and cruelly weakened by vast debts, poverty, and the neocolonial plundering of their resources.

Todor Zhivkov and Georges Marchais emphasized the urgent need for effective and radical solutions for building a new international economic order. They reaffirmed their solidarity for the struggles of the peoples in those countries to establish equal cooperation, to have their debts canceled, and to win their independence and freedom.

The two leaders stressed the importance of the combined action of the peoples in the socialist countries, the Third World countries, and the capitalist countries to open up new prospects for the development of social progress, for contributing to disarmament, peace, security, and the broadest cooperation, especially in Europe.

Todor Zhivkov and Georges Marchais stressed the importance of the idea of a common European home which is in the interests of all Europe's peoples and aims to overcome the politics of confrontation and blocs while respecting differences in the choice of social systems.

The Bulgarian and French Communists reaffirmed the importance they attach to implementing and enriching the Helsinki accords and the Vienna conference accords on security and cooperation in Europe in all spheres, notably the promotion of human rights, the free circulation of men and ideas, and the progress of individual and collective freedoms. In this spirit, they stressed Bulgaria's role in maintaining and developing good-neighborly relations and cooperation in the Balkans to turn the region into an area free from nuclear and chemical weapons.

The two leaders reaffirmed the BCP's and PCF's determination to develop and further strengthen the traditional relations of fraternal friendship and solidarity which exist between the BCP and the PCF on the basis of socialism's common principles and ideals, in the interest of friendship between the Bulgarian and French peoples and of cooperation between Bulgaria and France.

Marchais Talks to Media

AU1108175189 Sofia BTA in English
1604 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Varna, August 11 (BTA)—Interviewed for the Bulgarian News Agency (BTA), the Bulgarian Television and the Bulgarian Radio, Mr Georges Marchais, secretary general of the French Communist Party [PCF], said

that at his talks with Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], they had discussed the international situation, the situation in France and in Bulgaria and the two parties' activities, and the restructuring in the socialist countries. The guest said that considering the deep-going changes in the socialist community, the sides had taken into account the guidelines of renewal and the fact that these processes are unfolding in the conditions of a bitter struggle with imperialism. Over the last few years, the PCF leader went to say, the socialist countries have demonstrated their exceptional advantages. They must stick to the road of their choice, implementing radical economic and social reforms and promoting democracy.

Speaking of the nature of his talks in Bulgaria, Mr Georges Marchais said that Mr Todor Zhivkov and he had reaffirmed their commitment to three basic tenets: First, the construction of socialism should go on and a reversion to capitalism should by no means be allowed; secondly, the communist parties in the socialist countries play an exceedingly important role under the new conditions; and thirdly, each country should decide by itself the ways and the means to implement its ideas of socialist restructuring. "I share these views," Mr Georges Marchais said, "because I know very well Bulgaria's experience which shows a favourable balance of her development, even though it has problems to solve."

Mr Georges Marchais discussed in detail the role of the PCF in the life of France. "We are making progress on the basis of a double slogan: Unite to defend ourselves and unite to change things," he said, and specified, "We have to defend ourselves because capitalism is in a serious crisis which inevitably affects the working people. In France there is unemployment, jobs are not available on a regular basis, wages are low while the capitalists' profits are steadily growing. Considerable resources are used for armament, while housing construction, education and health care run short of funds. The PCF takes the side of the working people and together with them fights in defence of their interests. I would like to emphasize," the French Communists' leader said, "that the party seeks to build socialist society in France as the capitalist system is not in a position to meet the requirements of the present age. Consequently, socialism is the aim of French Communists. That is why the party views unity for change as rallying all democratic forces interested in progress."

"The struggle for peace is a foremost priority of the PCF, and that is why we highly commend the contribution of Bulgaria which, together with the other socialist countries, seeks progress in this area," Mr Georges Marchais said. He assessed as constructive and exceedingly important Bulgaria's initiatives on banning nuclear and chemical weapons from the Balkans and said that the PCF gives them its unqualified support.

'Arafat Replies to Zhivkov Greetings on Award
AU1208173989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 10 Aug 89 p 6

[Text] In reply to the congratulations that State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov sent to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Council and president of the State of Palestine, on his 60th birthday and on the award to him of the "13 Centuries of Bulgaria" Order, the Palestinian leader expressed to the Bulgarian ambassador in Tunis his deep feelings of fellowship toward our top party and state leader and the Bulgarian people.

The president of the State of Palestine gave a high assessment to Bulgaria's consistent and unchanging standpoint of support for the Palestinian cause.

Decrease in Inter-Balkan Confrontation Viewed
AU1308145989 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA
in Bulgarian 10 Aug 89 p 4

[Article by Major Vladi Vladkov: "Confidence in Uniform—Is Anyone Opposed?"]

[Text] The new dialectic of force and security presupposes that possibilities must be sought, found, and utilized for opposing the threat of war on a broader political basis than the one used to date. An in-depth analysis of the trends in international development shows that many governments and peoples are becoming increasingly well aware of the priority of the common interests of security. This has enabled the first steps to be taken toward reducing military confrontation. The prospect of turning the senseless confrontation, full of great dangers, into peaceful cooperation between peoples and states has come closer.

Does all of this concern the interrelations between the countries in the Balkans, where the border between the Warsaw Pact and NATO extends like a tensed nerve? Naturally, all of the positive processes in Europe and throughout the world cannot fail to affect the situation in the region to some degree or other. This is so, although certain outdated stereotypes and approaches in international relations on the world scale unfortunately are still being carried like weeds into the Balkan meadows.

It is well known that Bulgaria's southern border runs along the line dividing the two military-political blocs in the Balkan region. However, this geographical situation has never provided grounds for our country to threaten any of its neighbors, nor do we Bulgarians want any weapons to be aimed against us. We have enough of our own problems that we want to solve successfully. However, to achieve this, we need a serene political climate, not an atmosphere of suspicion and confrontation. It is from this position that Bulgaria is appealing for the Balkans to be turned into a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone. In February of last year, State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov and Andreas Papandreou, then prime minister of the Republic of Greece, issued a

joint statement proposing that measures should be taken to eliminate tactical nuclear weapons from the territory of the Balkans, and that a commitment should be undertaken not to deploy new nuclear weapons in those places where they already existed. At the beginning of this year our country provided practical proof of its desire to strengthen confidence in the military field by announcing a decision of the State Council and Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on unilateral cuts in the military budget and the forces and weapons of the Bulgarian People's Army. By these actions our country is making its own modest contribution to lightening the planet's burden of death-dealing weapons and to deepening the process of detente and confidence-strengthening not only in the Balkans, but also in Europe and the world.

The specific initiatives in the military field, aimed at removing tension in the relations between neighboring states, are also well known. A military delegation led by the chief of the General Staff of the Greek Armed Forces has visited Bulgaria; in return the chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army led a military delegation that made a friendly visit to Greece. Quite recently, a meeting was held at the Strezimirovtsi border crossing point between the chiefs of the General Staffs of the Bulgarian People's Army and the Yugoslav People's Army. These steps, which do not necessarily mean that no problems at all exist in relations, views, and approaches, are of value in that they are aimed at expanding trust in the military field. Such trust serves as the catalyst for the all-Balkan process and helps to resolve the existing problems in the interest of security and peace in the region.

However, recent events in the Balkans demonstrate that a different view and understanding of security exist on the peninsula, and that in the southeastern part of the Balkans some parties have not given up their reliance on force in favor of confidence and good-neighborliness. The chauvinistic outbursts from Ankara would provide no motive for alarm, had they been confined within the borders of that country. However, when words are spoken about "preserving the Turkish presence in the Balkans," when references are made to "Turkish minorities" in Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Romania, and connections are

made between this and Turkey's national interests and national strategy, as the TERCUMAN newspaper did at the beginning of July, then the level of tension naturally rises. There is no need to mention the open threats made against certain Balkan countries.

It is well known that this aggression is the outcome of the internal problems that have recently accumulated in Turkey. However, instead of solving them by internal means, Turkey has recently created new problems, foreign in nature, and in addition has seriously shaken the stability on the Balkan peninsula.

In the world today Franklin Roosevelt's call, "War is infectious; isolate the aggressors!" does not sound so up-to-date, because the aggressors are becoming totally isolated of their own accord. In its aspirations to exert influence in the Balkans from the position of repudiated tenets, Turkey is only extending the process of drawing together the remaining Balkan countries on the basis of confidence, good-neighborliness, and mutual security.

Sociopolitical Committee Formed in Khaskovo
AU1208184789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 10 Aug 89 p 6

[Text] Khaskovo, 9 August (Oblast correspondent)—A committee of sociopolitical forces was founded here today under the oblast council of the Fatherland Front. The cofounders were 26 public organizations, movements, and professional and creative unions. Minch Yovchev, first secretary of the Khaskovo Oblast Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], was elected chairman of the committee, to serve for a 6-month term.

The constituent meeting of the committee was attended by Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council. In his speech he spoke about the tasks facing the Committee, among which the work on unifying the Bulgarian nation, overcoming the difficulties that had arisen in the economy, and solving demographic, ecological, and other problems were emerging as of primary importance. The Committee will introduce a new element of renewal and democracy and will help to increase the population's social activity in fulfilling the plans for the further development of Khaskovo Oblast.

20 GDR Citizens Said in FRG Prague Embassy
*LD1008103189 Hamburg DPA in German 0937 GMT
10 Aug 89*

[Text] Prague (DPA)—According to reports today, the FRG Embassy in Prague succeeded, with assistant helpers and overtime, in coping with a veritable onslaught of Czechs and Slovaks over the weekend who were trying to obtain tourist visas. After up to 6,000 applications were processed on some days, the issuing of the visas is now said to be running smoothly.

Until a short time ago the applicants stood in long lines outside the embassy building. Two weeks ago, hundreds of them even camped out for whole nights there so they would not lose their places in line.

As is the case in East Berlin and Budapest, some men and women from the GDR have managed to gain entry to the Federal Republic's diplomatic mission in Prague. According to the BILD newspaper, there are 20 people staying there in the hope of gaining permission to leave the country.

Granting of Visas to Western Europe Improved
*AU1108125189 Prague CTK in English
1814 GMT 9 Aug 89*

[Text] Prague Aug 9 (CTK)—“There has been much improvement in most cases” of granting visas to Czechoslovak citizens travelling to the countries of Western Europe, director of the consular department of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Josef Houzvicka told CTK today.

He was asked to assess the results achieved since July 4 when CTK published a report on measures taken by the ministry in connection with the difficulties in granting West European visas to Czechoslovak citizens. Josef Houzvicka said that the West German Embassy employed a great number of temporary workers in its visa department and almost all embassy staff helped over the weekends. The embassy has been offered a new building for consular work for next year. The situation was improved also in the case of the Austrian Embassy.

“In other cases, however, the situation outside the West European embassies has not changed very much,” he said.

“On the other hand, the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry has not received any notice that the promised time-limits for granting visas were not kept. When Czechoslovak citizens filed their applications too late, for instance France's consular department did its best to meet their demands by sending a telegram and reducing the term for the reception of visas, some other embassies did the same,” Josef Houzvicka said.

“With the exception of Austria, West Germany, Switzerland, Greece and Algeria, where the tourist visas are granted immediately or, in the FRG's case, in a short time, we would like the consular departments of the West European countries to considerably reduce the time-limits for granting visas to Czechoslovak citizens next year, if it cannot be this year,” he said.

The director of the Foreign Ministry consular department stressed that a number of measures taken by the Czechoslovak side, such as granting visas at four selected border crossings with Austria and the FRG, or a more flexible system of granting visas to foreign journalists, demonstrates a serious approach of the Czechoslovak side to the implementation of its international obligations. “We would like to see more examples of similar kind also from the other side,” he said.

The Czechoslovak side fulfils the obligations resulting from the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting concerning contacts among people. It takes into consideration serious family, personal or professional reasons which are of importance for the person requesting a visa. Czechoslovakia strives at present to make the visa formalities less complicated, Josef Houzvicka stressed.

Czechoslovakia deals also with further development of tourism, creating conditions for the realization of joint plans in the sphere of tourism, including joint ventures and programs for the education of cadres, he continued, expressing regret at the fact that there are no similar measures leading towards the removal of the obstacles of the past on the other side. e.g. the U.S. visa questionnaire includes questions about membership in political parties, especially in the Communist Party. French bodies' attitude is also inflexible because only a limited number of border crossings is opened for the Czech tourists.

Despite this there has been significant improvement in a number of countries which signed the Helsinki final act, e.g. the granting of multiple visas is more flexible today at the Swiss and Greek Embassies. These embassies, as well as the Austrian, grant visas immediately.

Some people are of the opinion that the visas should be removed completely, asking why Czechoslovakia has not yet agreed upon a visa-free system with the West European countries, Houzvicka said. These states either cannot or do not want to. Czechoslovakia has signed a similar agreement with neutral Finland and also with Austria but it concerns only people with diplomatic, business or special passports. This question will be discussed also with West Germany in the autumn.

The visa departments of the Czechoslovak representative bodies and consular authorities have started the practice of immediate issuing of visas for employees of the mass communication media. The Czechoslovak side has also decided to grant permanent multiple one-year visas to foreign journalists accredited here for a longer

time, regardless of the fact if they are based in Czechoslovakia or in another country, on the assumption that a reciprocal attitude is respected. The possibility of granting visas to foreigners also on further selected border crossings is being discussed, Josef Houzavicka said.

Archive Material on Stalin Victim Revealed
AU1008124189

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 9 Aug on page 6 carries a 3,500-word article by Andrey Ostalskiy, a Soviet journalist, entitled "A Diplomat's Life and Death; On a Major Personality of Prewar International Politics." The article marks the 100th birth anniversary of Sergey Aleksandrovskiy, Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia "in the critical years 1934-39," who later fell into disfavor and was executed in 1945 "for high treason and espionage for fascist Germany." According to an introductory note, Ostalskiy wrote the article especially for RUDE PRAVO, "on the basis of documents in the Archive of USSR Foreign Policy that have been made accessible only recently."

The bulk of Ostalskiy's article is devoted to Aleksandrovskiy's diplomatic activity in Czechoslovakia in the thirties. The author stresses the Soviet diplomat's "dedicated work for the CPSU and the Soviet state" while in Czechoslovakia, and the credit which he deserves for the conclusion of the Soviet-Czechoslovak treaty of 1935, and his consistent anti-Hitler stand. Ostalskiy pays particular tribute to Aleksandrovskiy's role after the Munich agreement of September 1938 when he appealed to the Soviet Government to "act more energetically" on Czechoslovakia's behalf, even at the cost of confrontation with Hitler.

Ostalskiy notes that, despite his outstanding qualities as diplomat and his valuable foreign policy experience, "in 1939 Aleksandrovskiy suddenly became a useless person for Soviet diplomacy" and was recalled from Prague. In this connection, Ostalskiy cites a Molotov-signed note which he found in the Soviet archive about "the need to release Comrade Aleksandrovskiy from the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs." Ostalskiy attributes Aleksandrovskiy's "falling into disfavor" to the "sharp turnaround" in Soviet foreign policy in 1939, which culminated in the conclusion of a nonaggression pact and of an agreement on friendship and borders with Germany. "It would really make no sense to picture Aleksandrovskiy implementing a policy of 'friendship and cooperation' with fascist Germany," Ostalskiy remarks. Ostalskiy also detects several points in Aleksandrovskiy's biography which proved to be liabilities at that time. These included Aleksandrovskiy's aristocratic family background, the many years he spent in the West, his foreign-born wife, his relatives in the United States, as well as his friendship with several people (Postyshev, Antonov-Osteyenko) who were later "exposed" as "enemies of the people."

In the remaining part of the article, Ostalskiy sketches Aleksandrovskiy's fate after his release from diplomatic service. He notes that, initially, Aleksandrovskiy was allowed to work as lawyer in Moscow but that in 1941 "his life began to resemble a Greek tragedy." In October 1943, finally, Aleksandrovskiy was arrested and in August 1945 sentenced to death for alleged "high treason and espionage for fascist Germany." The author notes that, although in 1956 Aleksandrovskiy was officially rehabilitated and his family was allowed to return from its banishment in Siberia, "all publications on Aleksandrovskiy from the sixties and seventies were bashfully reticent on the unlawful repressions against him." It is only now, he says in conclusion, that "there is no one and nothing to prevent the truth from being told about this exceptional man."

Dissidents Call for Prague Spring Rallies
AU1108141889 Paris AFP in English
1349 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Prague, August 11 (AFP)—Dissident and opposition groups have urged Czechs to gather in the streets and observe two minutes' silence later this month to mark the 21st anniversary of the crushing of the Prague Spring reform movement.

In a text released here Friday, the Charter 77 human rights group joined other opposition groups in calling for sympathizers of Czechoslovakia's short-lived period of liberalization under the leadership of Alexander Dubcek to "walk peacefully through the centres of cities" on Monday, August 21.

At 5 p.m. they should all stop and observe two minutes' silence.

On August 21, 1968, Soviet and other Warsaw Pact troops occupied Czechoslovakia to stamp out Mr. Dubcek's economic and political reforms, introduced earlier that year and dubbed the "Prague Spring".

Last year opposition groups staged mass demonstrations in Prague and other cities to mark the occasion.

Playwright Vaclav Havel, spokesman of Charter 77, was jailed earlier this year for taking part in a demonstration to mark the 20th anniversary of the death of Jan Palach, a student who set himself on fire in January 1969 to protest the entry of foreign troops into Czechoslovakia.

Police held Mr. Havel for 11 hours on Wednesday, apparently in an effort to dissuade him from taking part in demonstrations next week.

"They indicated that my presence in Prague was undesirable and that any appearance in public in the next few days would be unwelcome," Mr. Havel said after his release.

Article Outlines Aims of Solidarity, Charter
AU1408121889 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech
2 Aug 89 No. 31 p 2

[Vaclav Hora article: "Common Ideas and Aims"]

[Text] It is certainly not by chance that one of the first trips made by the Polish Solidarity group after the June elections in the Polish People's Republic was to Czechoslovakia and to people with whom they have an ideological and a political affinity, as well as a common purpose—to Charter 77 representatives and other illegal groups. One could say that there is nothing new under the sun. After all, mutual cooperation between Solidarity and the Charter has existed for a number of years now and is well known. In spite of this, it is impossible to allow this event to pass unnoticed.

The very composition of the group—among whom, besides other Solidarity officials, there was A. Michnik, who was present at its inception and who is indisputably one of the leading members of that organization's brain trust; and Z. Bujak was also present, who is recognized as an expert in illegal activity—suggests that this was not only a friendly meeting but an exchange of experiences and the specification and linking up of their course of action and tactics. Neither during the course of their stay, nor after their return to Warsaw did the Polish visitors conceal the fact that they came to rouse up the Czechoslovak illegal structures, to add to their zeal, and to provide them with assistance in their struggle against socialism.

Why? Z. Bujak said this several times when he stressed that "what is happening in Poland, Hungary, and Russia will, of course, falter if it goes ahead without Czechoslovakia.... Therefore, for us the answer to the question is very important: how to provide help for Czechoslovakia to embark upon the road of reform." Of course, reforms such as those which are being implemented in Poland, reforms which led to the legalization of Solidarity and which are seriously threatening socialist achievements. This is confirmed by their joint statement in which is stressed the "inspirational role of the Polish roundtable talks for political development in Czechoslovakia."

The main discussions, which lasted for more than 15 hours—as reported by AFP—took place at Vaclav Havel's country residence in East Bohemia. What were they about? This was delineated more than obviously by Radio Free Europe on 25 July 1989—"how to get out of communism," which means how to eliminate the socialist, political, and economic system. In reply to a question A. Michnik also said: "It is necessary to find the beginning of the fundamental weakness of the Communist economy. That beginning is the nomenclatura. It is essential to somehow strike at the nomenclatura. How? Via the territorial bodies." To this he added "It is necessary to install a Solidarity government as the consequence of a compromise with the party's reform wing."

In this regard, the Solidarity representatives also issued advice on how the Charter and other illegal groups should proceed: "The Czechs must also look for reformist forces in the party and make contact with them" (Z. Bujak); "We must also seek contacts among the representatives of the Czechoslovak authorities. To be sure, it is barely possible to imagine that they are monolithic...." (Z. Janus); "In the struggle with the other side it is necessary to have a leading figure at the forefront" (Z. Bujak); and so on. The Charter and other groups are meant to orient themselves toward breaking up the party's unity and, as the case may be, the unity of other organizations, to look for suitable partners in government institutions, in the non-communist parties, simply, in the whole of society. In our country right-wing forces have already implemented this tactic once—after the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee session in January 1968. At that time they managed to find forces in the party and among its leadership which willingly and, even on their own initiative, changed the course which the January session had approved as the line of the subversion and elimination of socialist values and principles.

Today, thank God, it is not 1968. The CPCZ stands firmly on its Marxist-Leninist position and from this position it is also developing and implementing restructuring and democratization. This is also a thorn in the side both of the Charter and its offshoots and their Western friends and allies. Our road of restructuring—as Z. Bujak expressed it—allegedly threatens the changes taking place in Poland, Hungary, and even in the Soviet Union! The fact that we have refused to identify restructuring with a retreat from socialist positions, with the legalization of the opposition, with attacks on socialism, the CPCZ and its leading role, and with a negation of the more than 41 years of the road along which we have embarked, sticks in the throats not only of the Charter's representatives but also of their allies in the West and in Poland. This disables them in carrying out their tactical plan which had been put forward by Z. Brzezinski and other theoreticians of anticommunism—to create a crisis in several socialist countries all at once. Today they are involved in creating some kind of dependent block of reformist states: Czechoslovakia is missing from this, therefore, the Solidarity representatives came—as R. Rohan stated on the BBC on 26 July 1989—"to raise the morale of the independent groups."

It was not by chance that the other main topic of the discussions was how to abuse the 21st anniversary of the internationalist assistance "in order to move things forward in Czechoslovakia." Put in plain words, how to whip up tension, unrest, and confrontation with the socialist system. The Solidarity representatives did not hide their complete support for the confrontationist events which the Charter is preparing. They not only even promised to participate in them, but also promised "an announcement by the Polish Parliament on the occasion of the anniversary of these events" (Z. Janus) and other pressure exerted on the Czechoslovak organs

by the Polish side. The fact that this is an intervention in sovereign Czechoslovak affairs is a negligible matter for Solidarity. This was eventually revealed when the 169 deputies in the Polish Sejm from among the ranks of Solidarity signed a statement supporting the "Few Sentences" appeal in which demands are put to the Czechoslovak Government in the form of an ultimatum, demands which it should fulfill. In Solidarity's course of action toward neighboring friendly countries there obviously does not belong one demand which is among their constant demands—sovereignty and non-interference by external forces in their internal affairs. However, this is a main feature of the policy of these forces, and not only in these issues.

The discussions which these "old friends" conducted have thus once more confirmed where the Charter and the other illegal structures are heading and what kind of contents they want to force into restructuring in our country. Development in Poland is meant to be an example, especially, that part which led to the legalization of the opposition and to its road to parliament. And from there—as A. Michnik has emphasised—to getting rid of communism. The Charter representatives have absolutely unequivocally confirmed that their aims are identical.

Editorial on Duty To Defy Charter 'Demagogy'
AU1408131789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
12 Aug 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Communists Among the People"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] A fighting spirit has always been one of the characteristic qualities of communists. It has been needed in every stage of party life because the struggles conducted by the party have always been new and its paths unexplored. This has been the case in the party's entire history, and it is also true today. [passage omitted]

We Communists and, together with us, the majority of the people of our country stand with our feet firmly on the positions of socialism, and do not see any future other than a socialist one. We must be able to prove this, in particular, by deeds and we must also be able to address these words loudly to all those who are flirting with the idea that the process of restructuring in our country and developments in some neighboring countries give them the chance to gradually liquidate socialism. They are raising their heads in the belief that Communists and other people dedicated to socialism will bow theirs.

They err profoundly, however.

The Chartists and other organizers of illegal structures pursue anti-people and antisocialist goals, uphold hostile positions, and are in foreign services. No dialogue will be conducted with such people! What should such a dialogue be about? We seek the perfection of socialism, its

greater dynamism, while they seek its destruction. In their latest pamphlet, entitled "A Few Sentences," they come up with questions or problems that have either been resolved in our country long ago, such as the issue of private ownership, or that are being tackled on the initiative of the party and the socialist state, such as the environmental issue.

We do differentiate, nonetheless, between the organizers and those who signed their pamphlet, be it out of ignorance or fear, out of political naivete or swaggering. Gradually they will find out what the real aims of the Chartists and their associates are, but they will also find out that the party is quite serious about restructuring our society, that restructuring is being implemented step by step, and that in time it will yield positive results.

Indeed, attacks on our country, on the party, and on socialist society have been multiplying in recent months. They are being conducted from outside and from within. Obscene, anonymous threats are being addressed to Communists and other functionaries, three examples of which we published on 8 August. In the editorial office we receive many letters whose writers (and not only Communists) express their outrage at such antihuman deeds. By showing their idea of democracy and revealing their lack of culture and vulgarity, the anonymous writers are doing themselves a disservice, however.

We have said that among the characteristic features of a Communist is his fighting spirit. The party expects us to display it in everyday life, it expects us to embark upon all the struggles for the realization of our society's aims with energy and zeal, it expects us not to spare efforts in meeting our tasks, in enforcing, explaining, and defending party policy. It expects us to show this fighting spirit even in situations when we bear witness to demagoguery and low slanders of that which has always been, and will always be, sacrosanct to us—the values of socialism. [passage omitted]

Cebrovski Examines Polish Government Crisis
LD1308101389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
0730 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Commentary by Jiri Cebrovski]

[Excerpt] Small coalition, big coalition, interim government—these are the possibilities ardently discussed in Poland and elsewhere. Nevertheless, this discussion can hardly hide the fact that the opposition has evidently put its cards on the table in the political struggle in Poland: It wants to assume power in the country as soon as possible.

It is a complicated period of extreme tension for Polish society. We are witnessing attempts to use and misuse the process of forming a new government to destabilize the situation in the country as well as damage Poland's ties to its allies, including its obligations as a member of the Warsaw Treaty.

It is, though, perhaps too soon to speak about the conclusions of the round table talks as being of no use. [passage omitted]

SFRY Planning Officials Meet for Talks

LD0908200689 Prague CTK in English
1800 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 9 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission Jaromir Zak received here Wednesday First Deputy Secretary for the Development of Yugoslavia and Director General of the Yugoslav Office for Social Planning Vojislav Knezevic who is on a working visit to Czechoslovakia these days.

The two representatives discussed bilateral economic and scientific-technological cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia for 1991-1995. They stated that in many fields of economic and social life the two countries have identical or similar aims. The current economic and social reforms in the two countries create enough space for further development of cooperation, mainly through modern forms like cooperation in production and specialization, joint investments, joint ventures, etc. These forms of cooperation will at the same time make it possible to improve mutual information of the needs and possibilities of both sides.

Cuban Foreign Minister Arrives for 3-Day Visit

LD1008152189 Prague CTK in English
1409 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Prague Aug 10 (CTK)—Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli arrived here Thursday for a three-day official visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of his Czechoslovak counterpart Jaromir Johanes. [passage omitted]

Johanes Talks With Malmierca

LD1008204489 Prague CTK in English
1948 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes and his visiting Cuban colleague Isidoro Malmierca Peoli today highly appreciated Czechoslovak-Cuban ties and their intensive development. They pointed out close and systematic cooperation of the two countries at all levels and the identity of views on basic questions of the building of socialism and of present international relations.

Assessing topical issues of the present developments in the world, the two ministers stressed that the positive elements in international relations follow as a consequence of new political thinking asserted mainly by peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The ministers exchanged views on topical issues of cooperation between the socialist states. Jaromir Johanes informed his partner of further progress in implementing the conclusions of the Bucharest session of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister appreciated Cuba's active foreign policy striving for peace and progress in the world. He acquainted the guest with the situation in Europe and with the development of the all-European process. He stressed the significance attached by Czechoslovakia and other Warsaw Treaty states to conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals, to confidence- and security-building measures in Europe as well as to a speedy opening of talks on tactical nuclear weapons. He informed Isidoro Malmierca also of the present state of asserting the Czechoslovak initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states, which is a Czechoslovak contribution to the building of a common European home. He also explained the Czechoslovak proposal aimed at promoting cooperation between the countries of central Europe in environmental protection.

The Cuban foreign minister appreciated the initiatives of the Czechoslovak foreign policy. He informed Jaromir Johanes of preparations for the forthcoming Belgrade summit of the Non-Aligned Movement. The two ministers pointed out the significance gained by the Non-Aligned Movement during its existence and appreciated its positive influence on international relations.

Isidoro Malmierca pointed out acute problems of Latin American and other developing countries. He described as especially pressing the necessity to solve the problem of foreign debts of the Third World countries. The ministers stressed the necessity of restructuring international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, of establishing a new international economic order.

The foreign ministers exchanged views on the situation in the hotbeds of tension. They expressed concern at a continuing development of crisis in the Middle East. They welcomed progress in seeking ways to settle the situation in Central America, particularly in the light of the recent meeting of five Central American presidents. They appreciated a constructive approach of the Nicaraguan Government to the solution of the situation in the region, they welcomed the positive elements in the developments in the south of Africa, achieved with a considerable contribution of Cuban diplomacy.

Husak, Malmierca Hold Talks

LD1108172589 Prague CTK in English
1427 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 11 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak and visiting Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli today stressed that they are

interested in further deepening and enrichment of cooperation in all spheres, which will contribute to the implementation of tasks of socialist construction in both countries.

The two sides informed each other of the development in their countries. They stated with satisfaction that Czechoslovak-Cuban ties have reached a high quality and are developing in harmony with the adopted conclusions.

Exchanging views on international relations, they appreciated that the two countries' attitudes towards basic questions of the present are identical. Czechoslovakia and Cuba actively support the continuation of the process of the relaxation of tension, promotion of peace and security in the world.

Earlier today, Isidoro Malmierca Peoli was received by Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Bohumil Urban and exchanged with him the views on the progress of work in coordinating the two countries' plans for the 1991-1995 period.

They also discussed the exchange of goods and economic cooperation and expressed the interest of the two sides in further deepening of ties.

Lenart Receives Malmierca

LD1108193189 Prague CTK in English
1808 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 11 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee secretary Jozef Lenart received here today Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli who is currently on a visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes. They discussed the level of political relations between Cuba and Czechoslovakia and topical issues of international political situation.

Havana Reports Malmierca Visit

FL1108151189 Havana Radio Reloj Network
in Spanish 1402 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] On his 2d day in Prague, the beautiful capital of the CSSR, Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca met with CSSR First Deputy Premier Bohumil Urban. They discussed bilateral relations and international problems.

Upon his arrival on Thursday [10 August], Malmierca met with Jaromir Johanes, his Czechoslovak counterpart, with whom he talked about the recently concluded Central American summit meeting and the foreign debt. They also dealt with the preparations being made for the ninth Nonaligned Movement summit meeting and the most recent steps taken for disarmament.

Bilateral relations between Cuba and the CSSR were characterized as very positive, especially after the visit paid to Cuba at the beginning of this year by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Havana TV on Husak Meeting

FL1208135089 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network
in Spanish 1300 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] CSSR Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes has said Cuba is recognized by the international community because of its consistent anti-imperialist policy. Johanes stated this during a luncheon he hosted in honor of Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca, who has been paying a 4-day official visit to the CSSR since Thursday [10 August]. Johanes highlighted the successful development of Cuban-Czechoslovak relations in all spheres and said there are still numerous possibilities of increasing them.

For his part, Malmierca noted that the struggle for disarmament and development need to be linked because, if we want to achieve a world of peace, contradictions between North and South need to be eliminated.

Malmierca met yesterday with CSSR President Gustav Husak, party leader Jozef Lenart, and First Deputy Premier Bohumil Urban.

Malmierca Assesses Visit

LD1308205389 Prague Domestic Service
in Czech 1630 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Interview with Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca by unidentified correspondent before his departure from the CSSR]

[Text] Isidoro Malmierca, the Cuban foreign minister, has given an interview prior to his departure from Czechoslovakia to representatives of the media. Asked how he assessed the results of his visit to Czechoslovakia he replied:

[Begin Malmierca recording in Spanish fading to superimposed Czech translation] I am very satisfied with the talks I had in Czechoslovakia. I met the president, Comrade Gustav Husak, the federal vice-premier, Comrade Urban, as well as my colleague, Comrade Johanes. During all these meetings we exchanged views on the current international situation and noted that significant successes have already been achieved. I informed the Czechoslovak comrades about the nonaligned countries conference in Belgrade now being prepared, which Czechoslovakia will attend for the first time as a guest.

We also devoted a great deal of attention to bilateral relations and their further development in all areas. We agreed that there exists both goodwill and conditions for these relations to continue to be of a high standard—and

for us to go forward in carrying out economic projects. I repeat that I am very satisfied with the results of the talks and believe that the visit was very useful.

With Comrade Urban, federal vice-premier, I also discussed how the Czechoslovak economic reform would influence economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Cuba. A meeting is to be held in September at which we shall coordinate our plans for the next 5-year period. I am of the view that any changes will not project themselves negatively into our mutual economic cooperation. All the changes that will take place must lead to the improvement of socialism, the improvement of all possibilities created by the socialist system. As long as we are going to respect the given principles I believe that we are not going to have problems and difficulties in mutual cooperation. [end recording]

Malmierca Ends Visit, Departs

LD1308142189 Prague CTK in English
1344 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 13 (CTK)—Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peopli left here today after paying an official visit to Czechoslovakia.

He was seen off by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes.

"My visit to Czechoslovakia was very useful and I am satisfied with its results", Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peopli told Czechoslovak and foreign journalists shortly before departure here today.

The Cuban representative spoke about the usefulness of the exchange of opinions during the talks with Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak. He appreciated positive steps done on the road from confrontation to the stage of talks, stressing that this process must continue and that lessening of tension should be now achieved also between the North and the South. He also told the journalists that during his talks with Jaromir Johanes they dealt in detail with the preparations for the ninth non-aligned summit conference in Belgrade in September. Czechoslovakia will participate as guest for the first time.

He appreciated the Czechoslovak-Cuban relations and their high all-round level. Dealing with the latest development in the socialist countries the Cuban foreign minister stressed that Cuba fully respects the right to a sovereign road. One can or need not agree with the changes, with the ways of development but Cuba has many times repeated the right to an independent development both for itself and any other country. The Cuban people have chosen the road of the construction of socialism and are determined to defend it at any cost, he said.

Commenting on the relations between Cuba and the USA, he said, inter alia, that the USA practically rejected cooperation in the struggle against drugs in spite of the fact that Cuba has taken the strictest measures recently against Cuban functionaries involved in drug traffic. The USA openly interferes in Cuba's internal affairs by radio broadcasts, and prepares also TV broadcasts. The United States thus violates international conventions, Isidoro Malmierca Peoli underlined.

Daily Says Vietnamese Workers Need Understanding

AU1408121089 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 11 Aug 89 p 4

[Second installment of Ivo Vasiljev article: "Vietnamese Workers Among Us"]

[Excerpts] In the first installment of the article (published in RUDE PRAVO on 13 July 1989), we demonstrated that the most urgent practical need of Vietnamese citizens working in Czechoslovakia today is to purchase Czechoslovak merchandise for the money they earn here. [passage omitted]

To gain an even better understanding of the situation of Vietnamese workers in our country, it is necessary to become more closely acquainted with the situation on the Vietnamese market and with the problems arising from the fact that a Vietnamese worker is forced "to sit on two chairs," so to speak, that is, to make his purchases on our market so that his family in Vietnam can live better.

The idea is incorrect that in a country with a low standard of living by Czechoslovak standards there is also, automatically, a shortage of all quality merchandise. In Hanoi or in any other larger Vietnamese city, you can get almost anything. [passage omitted]

To be able to get hold of one of these articles, you only have to meet one condition—to offer the seller dollars, gold, or an astronomical sum of money in the local currency. You can obtain, or outweigh, all these means of payment by offering other foreign-made quality merchandise for which there is a demand on the market. [passage omitted]

It needs to be stated beforehand that, according to the customs agreement concluded between the CSSR and the SRV prior to the arrival of the first Vietnamese workers, each of them is entitled, theoretically, to take out of the country merchandise worth 50 percent of the income earned during his entire stay in our country. This is also the only legal way for a Vietnamese worker in our country to use his earnings for the benefit of his family. Direct money transfers are virtually impossible. [passage omitted]

It is therefore natural that the interest of Vietnamese workers in our market has concentrated on a specific, selected range of products. As we know that, for the time being, this market is incapable of responding to the increased demand in a flexible way and also because no one has ever studied the potential demand of 30,000 Vietnamese customers, some disproportions on our market have probably intensified. The presence of the easily recognizable and persistent Vietnamese customers in the lines before, and around the counters of, certain shops has evidently made parts of our public—which from the very beginning has received scant information and therefore easily lends credence to all kinds of rumors, often fantastic ones—even neurotic. Our commercial and customs bodies have found a solution in administrative bans. The export restrictions adopted about 4 years ago have palpably affected the Vietnamese workers, greatly complicating their lives. Many of them are even asking, with increasing frequency, whether our Republic has an honest attitude toward them and their work. Why are they not allowed to spend the money which they received for their work on things which they essentially need for their existence at home?

Since then, a whole range of undesirable tendencies which no one anticipated have become even more evident. These tendencies, which began to make themselves felt even prior to 1985, have not grown any weaker yet, rather the reverse. The crux of the problem lies in the fact that, in this interstate operation, which is run by both states, the basic need of a Vietnamese worker—to purchase in our country the merchandise he needs—has essentially been left up to every individual. If the individual worker does not get hold of something himself, he will not have it. There exists no service that would facilitate this arduous task for a Vietnamese worker, no organization that would centrally obtain properly ordered goods and deliver them intact to his home country, within an agreed deadline. [passage omitted]

Some Vietnamese workers earn quite decent money in Czechoslovakia. Others are willing to earn extra money by working on Sundays or overtime. Some prefer to earn this extra money by illicit dressmaking and a small minority takes the risk of selling smuggled watches. They must all inevitably come to terms with the same problem—how to earn money to buy things for which the purchase, customs clearance, and transport home are getting increasingly expensive. Moreover, they have figured out that, in terms of Czechoslovak merchandise sold in Vietnam, the purchasing power of the Czechoslovak koruna has dropped roughly 50 percent in the last 7 years! And, what is more, demand on the Vietnamese market is changeable. What can be sold profitably today may not be saleable in a few months' time, by the time the goods arrive in Vietnam. [passage omitted]

That is why the first question put to everyone arriving from Hanoi today is: "What is the 'hit' on the home market right now?"

Knotek Speaks at All-Region Assembly in Plzen

*AU1008185389 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 9 Aug 89 p 2*

[CTK report: "Only Honest Work Counts"]

[Text] Plzen—An all-region assembly of party functionaries, members of the People's Militia, and officers in the National Security Corps, the Border Guard, and the Czechoslovak People's Army took place on Tuesday [8 August] in Plzen. First and foremost, it discussed the question of increasing the efficiency of party work during the preparation period for the annual members' meetings, conferences, and the 18th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Congress and it also discussed the problem of further activating the work of the national committees, National Front social organizations, and the manufacturing sphere and placed emphasis on the implementation of the demands which have arisen out of the process of restructuring.

During the course of the proceedings, Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, made a speech. He pointed out that the increased attention which the party is paying at this stage to solving economic problems must not lead to the neglect of the CPCZ's ideological and internal party work. In the minds of some comrades, a sense for the danger of ideological diversion has been lost, an attitude of complacency has developed, an attitude of the good nature of bourgeois ideology and its representatives toward the construction of socialism. It is necessary to say openly that from a theoretical point of view bourgeois ideology would be against itself and against its very substance if it aided in the development of socialism. None of us has ever read in any textbook that socialism will be the final social system or that it will be an ideal society without shortcomings. However, we cannot agree with the organization of events such as the "Few Sentences" petition whose aim is to divide society and to distract the attention of the leadership of the party and the state from resolving the main issues of restructuring.

In another part of his speech, Ivan Knotek stressed that the thorough fulfillment of the restructuring of the economic mechanism has an extraordinary importance for the further successful implementation of tasks. He said that in a short period of time a great deal of work has been accomplished. We have completed the organizational reconstruction of the research and development distribution base by the creation of 2,248 state enterprises. One hundred and eighteen economic production units have been abolished. The ministries' apparatus has been reduced by 30 percent which represents a total of more than 5,700 employees. Significant legal norms have been adopted.

The change from an administrative system into the new economic system in which the planned economy will be purposefully interlinked with the supply and demand mechanism and the construction of a socialist market

capable of competition will require radical changes in the behaviour of enterprises, both among themselves and in relation to the state, whose representatives are the appropriate ministries. Experiences from restructuring, so far, in other socialist countries indicate that the most serious problem, besides the operation of the economic instruments, is supplier-customer relations. It is possible to overcome this problem only on the basis of strict adherence to supplier-customer relations built up at the enterprise level on full legally operating economic contracts.

At the same time, the price policy issue, the issue of utilizing production on the domestic and on the foreign market, and the comprehensive resolution of the production objectives of individual enterprises and organizations have come into the forefront.

At the end of his speech, Ivan Knotek commented that in the approaching period it will be necessary to pay extraordinary attention to fulfilling the tasks of this year's plan, to seriously preparing for the final year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, to the plan for 1990, and to the smooth-running transition toward the introduction of the restructuring of the economic mechanism in all organizations from 1 January 1990. He thanked the Communists and all the working people of the West Bohemian region for the results which have been achieved in fulfilling the tasks of the first 6 months of the year. At the end of his speech, he replied to questions put by the functionaries present in the audience.

Knotek Addresses North Bohemian Aktiv
*LD1008212689 Prague Domestic Service
in Slovak 1800 GMT 10 Aug 89*

[Text] Concluding his working visit to the North Bohemian region, Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, addressed a discussion at the aktiv of representatives of the working people of the mining districts in Most region on the topical political tasks of society and questions concerning the protection and creation of the living environment. He stressed that restructuring the economic mechanism must be aimed at improving the central leadership's efficiency and at the marked economic motivation of enterprises through the widespread utilization of commodity-monetary relations.

He went on to say that in the current period of preparations for annual member meetings and conferences of primary party organizations, the efforts of both party and nonparty members must be united and an active struggle must be waged against all those trying to disturb the unity of the party and the people.

Responding to questions, Ivan Knotek briefed those present on the fulfilment of the national economic plan for the first half of the current year and discussed the internal political situation in detail.

The participants in the aktiv then sent a letter to the party Central Committee in which they voiced their negative attitude toward the "Several Sentences" appeal and their full support for the policy of the party and the government which was expressed in the CPCZ Central Committee statement on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of victorious February.

Work Collectives Criticize Dissidents' Appeal
*LD1208124689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1030 GMT 12 Aug 89*

[Text] Fundamental disagreement with the appeal called "A Few Sentences," through which illegal structures are striving to undermine the stability of the socialist system and hinder the restructuring process in Czechoslovakia, is continuing to be expressed in standpoints and resolutions adopted by work collectives.

The appeal has been condemned, for example, by Communists at the Stroubarna [screws] state enterprise at Libice. They point out that the instigators of the appeal are holding up and fouling everything which makes our society tick and which it is striving to attain.

The attempts by Charter 77 and other illegal structures to subvert our socialist system have also been resolutely rejected by functionaries of the party and trade union organization at the OUNZ [district health service] in Jablonec and Nisou. They point out that it is not by publicizing petitions and proclamations that we will achieve a better life, but by all of us working honestly.

Support for the restructuring process and condemnation of the bid by antisocialist groups to destabilize conditions has been expressed through the work efforts of other collectives too; for instance, Communists at the Computer Technology Enterprise in Hradec Kralove, and in the Communist Party of Slovakia primary organization at the Mlyný and Testoviny [milling] enterprise in Kosice.

Secretary Zajic Interviewed on Agriculture
*AU0908165989 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 8 Aug 89 p 3*

[Interview with Miroslav Zajic, secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, by Zdenek Hoffmann: "The First Results Are Promising;" date, place not given; opening paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Excerpts] It is no exaggeration to say that the economic reform has progressed the most in our agricultural-food complex, which has in its entirety embarked upon the new conditions of operations. In conjunction with the implementation of restructuring in the economic activity, there is also need for new approaches in political and party work. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] and its bodies and functionaries must deal with continuously new tasks, to which practical life

exposes them. What is the present situation in our agriculture? This was our question for Comrade Miroslav Zajic, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee for party work in this national economic sector.

[Hoffmann] Comrade secretary, how do you evaluate the situation in our agriculture after 7 months of its operation under new economic rules?

[Zajic] This is too short a period to be able to provide a detailed evaluation, but we do avail ourselves already of the initial results produced by the impact of the new economic mechanism. In my opinion, practical life itself confirms that the intentions which we pursued are correct. This is testified to by the well-functioning food market. The economic results of the first half of the year were in most cases better, and sometimes even substantially better, than enterprises had planned, often out of excessive caution. In view of the short span of time, however, this is not necessarily a sufficiently convincing piece of evidence.

[Hoffmann] On what then do you primarily base your assessment?

[Zajic] We look for arguments for the positive assessment, in particular, in the enterprises' changed approaches and reactions to the now more demanding conditions and in the analysis of what is taking place in enterprises at present. I believe that the process of adaptation is progressing relatively well and that it has the necessary dynamism. This applies not only to well-known agricultural enterprises with outstanding results, such as the Slusovice or Cifer united agricultural cooperatives, but to a number of other enterprises as well. [passage omitted]

Many of them did not wait for 1 January 1989, when the new economic mechanism went into effect, already in the course of the preceding year these enterprises were looking for ways of saving material and various financial costs and testing possibilities for entrepreneurial activity. The activity of people in most agricultural enterprises has considerably increased and work teams have been showing greater interest in the further development and prosperity of their enterprises.

Of course, enterprises with a weak production base are struggling with certain difficulties. Consolidation programs have been proposed for organizations grappling with the greatest difficulties. On balance, however, the number of these programs is smaller than we originally expected. We did not launch restructuring with the naive expectation that everything would go smoothly. After all, the implementation of restructuring in the agriculture-food complex is influenced by the very circumstance that in the dominant part of the national economy the new rules do not yet operate in their entirety.

[Hoffmann] But the number of objections which farmers have been raising is not small either....

[Zajic] Our ministries of agriculture and food are carefully analyzing their comments. It would be short-sighted if we claimed that all the instruments operate in an ideal way and that their impact on everyone is absolutely the same. In actual economic life, such a situation cannot even arise. What is important is that the system is correct and viable. Partial changes and adjustments of the economic mechanism to the changing economic environment in our country and in the world are, and will continue to be, necessary. What we cannot permit, however, are interventions that would disrupt the essentially equal economic conditions [for all agricultural enterprises] established by restructuring, enforce income equality among enterprises and within enterprises, and, in the final analysis, lower the exactness of the economic conditions.

[Hoffmann] What do you consider to be of the greatest importance for restructuring in the agriculture-food complex and for the implementation of changes in the conduct of business which restructuring entails?

[Zajic] I ascribe the greatest importance to the fact that, and there is no denying of that, a greater scope has been created—mainly by the laws on state enterprises and agricultural cooperatives—for independent decision-making and entrepreneurial activity. [passage omitted] The sooner every enterprise "surveys" this scope and learns to fill it with socially beneficial entrepreneurial activity, especially with the production of needed inputs into primary agricultural production, with the processing of agricultural produce, and with the development of services on the territory of its economic activity, the sooner we will be able to say that restructuring has "taken hold" fully in the agriculture-food complex. Judging by the pace of the development so far, this need not take too long a time, in my opinion.

[Hoffmann] Was it right to make the agriculture-food complex enter restructuring 1 year ahead of the other branches of the national economy?

[Zajic] I am still convinced that this was the right decision. From the previous system, which had been in effect since 1982, agriculture obtained enough practical experience with enforcing the main principle of the current economic reform, and people were able to learn what self-financing means. Even though this principle had often been deformed in various ways, it has been assimilated, at least in part, by the majority of agricultural enterprises. It was clear from the very beginning that the 1 year lead would bring some problems as well. In spite of this, it is possible to contend that the positive aspects of this decision outweigh its negative aspects. It would be pointless, however, to postpone decisions and to wait until material and legislative prerequisites are created in the other branches as well. We do not understand the 1 year lead merely as a commitment and as an expression of trust in agriculture, but, at the same time, we do understand it as an advantage on which we should capitalize in the future.

[Hoffmann] Will farmers understand it in the same way? What is the political atmosphere among them?

[Zajic] I believe that it is good. What makes me convinced about this is people's activity, their interest in the problems of their places of work and residence, and their critical but also constructive attitude to their solution. [passage omitted]

An evidence of the favorable political climate is the fact that, just like in the past, even today young farmers do not hold discussions about alternative—that is, other than socialist—ways and forms of the further development of agricultural production.

[Hoffmann] I am glad that you have addressed this issue. Recently, there have been frequent attempts to defame the results of socialist development.

[Zajic] It is solely and exclusively their own experience, the realization of the advantages of this method of production, that makes the working people link their present and their future only with large-scale agricultural production on socialist foundations. The present social status and standard of living of our farmers are a telling expression of these advantages. [passage omitted] This is also why all current considerations about, and searches for, a more effective symbiosis and harmonization of individual and social interests take place consistently within the framework of socialist production relations. These relations provide all working people with immense scope and possibilities for self-realization—today, moreover, free of bureaucracy and ordering about. It also allows everyone to take the initiative and show what he is capable of. [passage omitted]

My view that the interests of those working in the agriculture-food complex are in no way compatible with appeals such as "A Few Sentences" is also based on what I have just said.

[Hoffmann] One target of the farmers' criticism are, for instance, the mark-ups which the newly set up state enterprises from the supplying branches of the national economy have been adding—in the farmers' opinion unjustifiably—to the selling price of their deliveries.

[Zajic] Such objections have been very frequent recently. A flexible use of price instruments is one of the most important prerequisites for a normal functioning of value instruments in the national economy. From this viewpoint we consider mark-ups and mark-downs to be effective instrument which supplement the influence of prices. Their use in supplier-user relations in the entire national economy will undoubtedly become increasingly widespread. Enterprises must learn to work with them and to use them correctly. The crucial criterion determining whether price instruments were used correctly is whether the preferential pricing is deserved or not, that is, whether a mark-up is offset, for instance, by better quality or a more comprehensive and prompter service.

It must not, however, arise merely from the monopoly status of the supplier, that is, from unequal partnership relations. Everyone is looking for as painless as possible ways of coming to terms with the tougher economic conditions. However, this must not reach the point where funds are obtained undeservedly, at the expense of those who have no choice but to accept the unequal terms.

[Hoffmann] It is often being argued in Czechoslovakia that the production costs of our agriculture are too high. What is your opinion?

[Zajic] The problem of the costs of agricultural production has become more evident now after the new economic rules became operative. It is one of the most decisive tasks we must now tackle. Our vocabulary needs to be changed as well. Instead of asking "how much has been produced," we must now ask far more frequently "at what cost?" and "what can be done to produce at lower costs?" [passage omitted]

It is also necessary to realize, however, that the cost-intensiveness of food production is a comprehensive issue because, to an extent which is not negligible, it is influenced by the quality and prices of inputs from other branches—engineering, chemistry, and the building industry. Our farmers therefore rightly resent it when the question of high food production costs is discussed in a simplified manner, as if the whole problem concerned them alone. This does not contribute to a good atmosphere among farmers and it also has a distorting influence on our public opinion.

[Hoffmann] Views are also making themselves heard to the effect that the high costs are caused by the collective forms of management and that the only way to improve the situation is to return to private farming or to lease out the land and other production assets. What do you think about these views?

[Zajic] Our farmers almost never ask questions of this sort. In assessing the suitability of one form or another, we must always proceed from specific conditions and the historical context. Given the level of development of production forces in Czechoslovakia's socialist agriculture, any returns to the forms of the transitional period, let alone to the forms prevailing prior to the victory of the socialist revolution, would be illogical and harmful.

The results are always what ultimately decides, and the results of our agriculture are undeniably good. [passage omitted] The conditions for life and work in our rural areas do not lag behind those in the cities and they also compare favorably internationally. It is scarcely known in Czechoslovakia, for example, that the owner of a family farm in the West must work a minimum of 65 to 68 hours a week. [passage omitted]

[Hoffmann] The period of rationalization and collectivization is being subjected to a reevaluation in the Soviet Union. Serious mistakes are being pointed out, which, precisely in agriculture, produced today's cheerless situation. What is your opinion on the course of collectivization in our country?

[Zajic] It was a revolutionary process, which did not steer clear of mistakes. The present results give a clear answer to the question of how to assess the course of the conversion [of agriculture] to socialist principles. The founding generation of cooperative farms created more for us than any previous generation. After 40 years of socialist development agriculture avails itself of a huge material-technical potential, representing fixed assets worth more than Kcs400 billion. It avails itself of an enormous qualification potential as well. Labor productivity has increased sixfold. Even with Czechoslovakia's high food consumption, in which we rank among the world's most advanced countries, our agriculture is able to meet the demands of the market. [passage omitted]

We do not perceive the 40-year-old history of socialist agriculture merely as history. It continues to be a rich source of lessons for the present. Not everything we have gone through can be regarded as antiquated, there are also experiences which, over a period of time, we have either forgotten or underestimated, to our own detriment. I could mention the attitude toward production assets, which was far more immediate in the beginnings of cooperative farming than it is today. Each cooperative farmer's income was also more closely pegged to final economic performance. The participation of the working people in management and internal cooperative democracy, too, were not marked as strongly by elements of formalism as in later years. And I could continue. This shows that the rich 40-year-old history of socialist agriculture has something to tell us and can contribute to the solution of present problems.

[Hoffmann] What do you consider to be the most urgent task of communists working in the agriculture-food complex?

[Zajic] Their active participation in restructuring. [passage omitted] We must not rely on everything taking hold automatically. Communists must help push through every gradual step so that even people without party affiliation come to identify with the changes. Likewise, we must not rely on every new measure being popular among the people, no matter how necessary it may be. Here, in particular, communists must explain why it was necessary to adopt such a measure. [passage omitted]

We must be able to properly appreciate the results of our work and must not succumb to negativist casting of doubt [upon these results], which is being forced upon us from elsewhere. On the other hand, however, we must be able to openly say what we are doing badly and set the mistakes right.

[Hoffmann] Thank you for the interview.

CPCZ Department Director on GDR Relations
AU1208164189 East Berlin HORIZONT in German
No 8/1989 pp 5, 12

[Interview with Michal Stefanak, director of the International Affairs Department of the CPCZ Central Committee, by Ernst-Otto Schwabe in Prague: "Harmony in Working, Playing, and Recreation"; date not given]

[Excerpts] Schwabe: During their latest meeting in Prague, Erich Honecker and Milos Jakes called the high level of contacts between our two parties and ideological agreement the core of bilateral relations. How would you characterize the present stage of relations between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ]?

Stefanak: Every year, cooperation between our two parties is becoming closer and more effective. Its basis is concurrent views on the strengthening and creative, further development of socialism on a national and international level. We proceed on the assumption that this course consists of further increasing the people's activities and creativity, deepening democracy, and the communist party's solidarity with the broad masses of the working people under new conditions. In addition, we have to strive for new forms of social ownership of the means of production and their consolidation. We want to develop our relations in such a way that they strengthen the unity of the revolutionary, progressive, and democratic forces and movements and promote the joint struggle to implement general human values and social progress. [passage omitted]

However, the positive evaluation of the contacts between our parties does not mean that we do not have to ask ourselves whether the current forms and methods still meet the requirements of the present, dynamic time. In my opinion, most of the existing forms have stood the test, but they are no longer sufficient. Moreover, the point is to contribute to strengthening mutual friendship and solidarity and to the best solutions in the interest of the peoples in our countries by adopting the positive experiences of one's partner—of course, after having modified them appropriately in accordance with specific national conditions.

Schwabe: The CPCZ is leading in the reorganization of economic, political, and social life in the CSSR. What are the objectives of this reorganization? In what way are the requirements as regards contents, style, and methods of party work changes?

Stefanak: The CPCZ is permanently analyzing the fulfillment of the decisions of the 17th CPCZ Congress in the individual social fields. It is shown that we still do not use all opportunities and driving forces that could

contribute to fulfilling the needs of the people of our country more quickly. We do not deny that the CPSU's new political course has also inspired us. [passage omitted]

Schwabe: Let us now deal with another subject. How does the CPCZ assess the level of economic cooperation between our countries?

Stefanak: The great degree of maturity of the two countries' national economies creates ample space for the qualitative development of bilateral relations to increase the standard of living. Certainly this applies above all to economic cooperation. The trade volume and the share of specialized and jointly produced goods for sale are impressive and have to be acknowledged. [passage omitted]

Schwabe: Our parties and countries also cooperate in foreign policy. For example, the GDR and the CSSR presented, among other things, a joint draft on the creation of a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe. Considering the present development, what topical importance do you attach to this initiative?

Stefanak: In the first place, I want to stress that, in general, we attach great importance to regional and subregional disarmament measures that could be an effective contribution to the elimination of nuclear weapons from our continent. Under the qualitatively new conditions, the joint draft of the governments of the CSSR and the GDR of April 1987 on the creation of a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe acquires an even more promising position. I refer to the conditions as created by the initiated implementation of the treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles and the proposal by the Warsaw Pact states to start direct negotiations with the NATO states on the elimination of tactical nuclear missiles from Europe. [passage omitted]

Schwabe: Our parties share the opinion that the present situation requires the further development of the communist parties' Marxist-Leninist theory and strategy, and their cooperation and alliance policy. In what way can the CPCZ and the SED contribute to this process?

Stefanak: We do not start from zero in this field. Our two parties can continue old traditions of theoretical and programmatic thinking and the coordination of the practical political struggle. It is necessary to further develop this practice, to deepen the exchange of opinions and experiences between the two parties, and to consolidate cooperation between the two countries' party, scientific, research, and pedagogical institutions in solving theoretical questions in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The agreement between the CPCZ and the SED on long-term cooperation in the field of social sciences, the draft of which is being discussed at present, will create favorable conditions for this.

Planned Changes in Constitution Discussed AU1108120489

[Editorial Report] Under the headline "Everyone Will Be Able To Express His Opinion," Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 10 August on page 3 both publish a 4,200-word transcript of a roundtable discussion dealing with current preparations for a new CSSR Constitution. The date and place of the discussion, which was moderated by RUDE PRAVO deputy chief editor Jaroslav Kojzar, are not given. The panelists are Professor Jiri Boguszak from the Institute of State Administration; Josef Blahoz, director of the Institute of State and Law of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; Professor Josef Mecl from the Charles University Faculty of Law, who also chairs the Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee of the Czech National Council; and Professor Stanislav Zdobinsky, head of the chair of state law at Charles University's Faculty of Law.

In their opening statements, the panelists explain the motives of the decision to draw up a new constitution. Zdobinsky points out that the present Constitution is made up of nine independent constitutional laws, which makes it "not perspicuous," a state of affairs which the new constitution should eliminate. He also notes that the Constitution should be a "carefully worked-out legal document and should not contain provisions of a merely declarative nature." Mecl adds that the "philosophy" of the present Constitution, which went into force in 1960, is based on "premises which the further development of society did not confirm. I am thinking, in particular, of the notion that the state and the law would gradually become extinct. Connected with this was also an underestimation of the formally legal aspect of the Constitution, which found its expression, above all, in the section on the rights and duties of citizens, but also elsewhere." Mecl also observes that the current Constitution is too general and abstract, and consequently cannot discharge the function of "regulating social relations."

Asked about specific changes compared with the present Constitution, Blahoz says: "It will be necessary to define more precisely the leading role of the Communist Party in society and the tasks of the National Front, to newly delineate the activity of social organizations, and to pay particular attention to organizations associating people according to their interests. The significance of these organizations, which act in accord with socialist interests or with interests that are compatible with socialism, will increase, particularly in the current period. At the same time, it will be necessary to make amendments to the whole sphere of the rights and duties of citizens." Answering the same question, Zdobinsky says that, although the "representative form of socialist democracy" will continue to be dominant, "direct democracy will have to develop as well, so that certain questions of principle might be put to the citizens' vote." The panelists then return to the issue of the Communist Party's

leading role in society. They stress that the new constitution must enshrine the principle that the Communist Party implements its leading role by "political means" and that it does not decide on issues that are the province of "other subjects of the political system." According to Boguszak, the constitution should also contain the provision that "all party organizations operate within the framework of the Constitution."

In another part of the discussion, the panelists discuss the need to "substantially enhance" in the new constitution the "constitutional guarantees of personal and political rights." Boguszak notes in this context: "The formulation of personal and political rights in the valid constitution is too general. Essentially, the constitution leaves the setting of limits on these rights to individual laws. The new constitution should itself set these limits more specifically. Thereby it will establish prerequisites for checking whether laws and other legal provisions are in accord with the constitution, and will render it impossible to curtail these basic rights by these provisions." Boguszak points out, for example, that at present some basic rights (such as the freedom of choice of residence or conditions for travel abroad) are regulated by departmental regulations or even by internal departmental directives, which makes it difficult for a citizen to claim his rights. To enhance the "legal character" of the socialist state, Boguszak also calls for the establishment of a court that would check whether laws are in accord with the constitution. Speaking about political and personal rights, Zdobinsky says that the constitutional experts' work "will focus mainly on improving the legal guarantees of all political rights, that is, the right to vote, the rights of assembly and association, and the right to petition." According to Blahoz, any restriction of these rights must be directly enshrined in the constitution or in laws.

Speaking about the state of preparations for the new constitution, the panelists say that, at present, "background materials" for individual sections are being drawn up and assessed. To emphasize the "democratic" nature of the work on the new constitution, they point out that individual sections are being processed by several teams independent of one another. As a result, several "variants" have been proposed for individual problem areas. Divergent proposals reportedly concern, for example, the establishment of a constitutional or administrative court, the concept of the chapter on the social system, or the section on types and forms of ownership. According to Blahoz, the experts should complete their preparatory work before the end of this year, after which the new constitution will be submitted to a "nationwide discussion."

Prosecutor General Interviewed on Legalities
AU0908154489

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 7 August on page 3 carries a 1,800-word interview with Jan Pjescak, CSSR prosecutor general, by Karel Walter, entitled "The Citizen, State Organs, and the Law." In the

interview, Pjescak discusses the need to "enhance the legal character" of the Czechoslovak state and to "strengthen socialist legality."

In his opening reply, Pjescak assesses the participation of the public in the struggle against crime. He describes the situation as "unsatisfactory" because "the participation of social organizations in criminal proceedings is virtually non-existent" and because "the reporting of, and taking resolute action against, cases of breaches of law by citizens and senior managers are generally on a low level." Pjescak deplores that the prosecuting bodies "often meet with citizens' unwillingness to take action against vandalism, rowdiness, and various forms of violence and crime, including disruptions of public order, as well as with the unwillingness to testify in court, provide an expert opinion, to participate in court proceedings, and the like."

Asked about the causes of this situation, Pjescak notes, among other things, that people are reluctant to report instances of crime against socialist property because their criticism often proves to be futile and because "sometimes it even boomerangs on them." Their reluctance to participate in criminal investigations and court proceedings is said to be motivated by the loss of time that this entails as well as by their "fear of disapproval of their active course of action by those that surround them, by their fellow workers and neighbors." Pjescak therefore stresses the need for "qualitative changes in the activity of people in strengthening legality, ethics, and order in the life of society."

In another part of the interview, Pjescak concedes that "people's activity in asserting the law" may also be impaired by their "lack of legal guarantees." In this connection he says: "The legal status of citizens must be enhanced. Their rights as well as duties must be formulated more precisely and realistically. We must also strengthen the legal protection of persons who come up with criticism because the present legislation has been overtaken by developments in many respects. The protection of citizens acting in self-defense and because of extreme distress needs to be enhanced as well." Pjescak adds that the "legal status of citizens" is to be enhanced by the new CSSR Constitution and other pieces of legislation that are now on the drawing board.

In the closing part of the interview, Pjescak discusses the need to improve the quality and speed of criminal and other legal and administrative proceedings, as well as the quality of the work of legal bodies, including prosecutors' offices. He notes that there are cases of "incorrect" and "unconvincing" decisions, of a "bureaucratic and insensitive" approach to citizens, as well as of "inexcusable delays" in processing citizens' requests, and he stresses that qualitative changes in the training of legal personnel and the constant upgrading of their qualifications are the main way to overcome these "shortcomings."

Complaints About Polish Workers' Bulk Buying

AU1108094089 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 10 Aug 89 p 4

[Letter by Juraj Kuban, a reader from Ruzomberok: "A Regularly Unregulated Sale"]

[Text] At present, approximately 500 Polish workers are on a one building site alone at the cellulose-paper combine in Ruzomberok. During the installation of engineering equipment, when construction work will be at its height, more than 1,000 people should be working at the site, more than half of whom will be workers from Polish firms.

I know that the Polish workers can buy almost anything with their legally earned Czechoslovak money and, within the framework of the valid customs regulations, can export these goods to their homeland.

There would be nothing unusual about this but.... I am puzzled by how it is at all possible that any of our sales assistants in grocery stores will sell, for example, 50 packets of sugared peanuts for Kcs2, or bonpari confectionary, which costs Kcs3. In the Rozkvet store in Ruzomberok, I even witnessed how the sales assistant, without batting an eyelid, added up the bill for a Polish worker who had in his basket 30 packets of bay leaves. I came across a similar case in the Prior department store in the Martin district, when a Polish citizen even bought 40 packets of the above-mentioned bay leaves. Is this not the bulk buying of goods? Support for black marketeering? Since an average size packet of bay leaves costs only 50 hellers, I think that in these cases the sale should be regulated. This is a specific method in the fight against corruption, because if such phenomena are tolerated then we are consciously supporting all sorts of smaller or greater rackets. In such cases, I personally lean toward the regulation of sales, although the above-mentioned incidents involved minor things. However, bigger things normally issue from these....

New Radio Station for Young People To Air

AU1108073789 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 8 Aug 89 p 5

[Lukas Nadvornik article: "Radio EM Comes Onto the Airwaves; At Last a Radio Station for Young People"]

[Text] On 4 September, a long awaited radio station for young people, called EM, will begin broadcasting. It will broadcast every day from 1500 to 2300 on FM frequencies and, simultaneously, on medium wave at a frequency of 1071 kHz. It will broadcast nationwide and will be compiled jointly by the main editorial office for children and young people in Prague and the main editorial office for young people in Bratislava in cooperation with other editorial offices; primarily, the main editorial offices for musical broadcasts in Prague and in Bratislava. Mostly, during live programs, a Czech and Slovak announcer will take turns broadcasting.

"Our aim is to differentiate and define individual radio stations so that each one has its own character. 'Emko' will be a station implicitly for young people and its programs will correspond to this," says the Deputy Director of Czech Radio, Frantisek Sojka. The broadcasts' contents will be made up of programs relayed from other stations; programs such as Mikroforum, Radioporta, and Vetrnik, while the popular Mikroforum evening phone-in program will still be broadcast for some time on Radio Prague since the new station's signal will not, in the interim, cover the whole country. Something new for Czech listeners will be the successful program, Radio Elan, broadcast in Slovakia, and among the new programs, for example, there will appear the half-hour-long program, Discussion Evening, which will react to topical problems; Continents, which will bring interesting new stories from around the world; and certainly not uninteresting will be the serialized program, LP, which, particularly, wants to present new foreign albums. Two Sunday programs are worthy of mention—Bestseller on Sunday with extracts from new works in our literature, and a radio play. The overall concept of the radio station assumes that more than two thirds of the programs to be broadcast will be musical.

Current affairs programs will take on a new progressive appearance. Approximately every 2 hours there will be a 5-minute news bulletin, which by its dynamism will appeal to young people. Something completely new (and something which young people have been missing for rather a long time) will be the regular broadcast of "hit parades"—both from our own and foreign charts. The ratings, just like most similar foreign programs, will be compiled on the basis of the listeners' votes. All kinds of music, including rock, heavy metal, and classical, will be broadcast and some musical programs will be supplemented with a short commentary, and some foreign songs will be accompanied by a brief translation of the text. Well known personalities should be given the opportunity of appearing on the new station's programs and it will be the same with completely unknown people who, however, have something to say to people around them. Music, film, and literary criticism will also have their place—let us hope on a much higher level than we have been used to so far (apparently).

One of the fundamental tasks of the new radio station will be to find a way through to younger listeners, to gain their trust. Frantisek Sojka says about this: "Right from the very beginning we want to be topical, concise, and, above all, objective. We want to avoid any kind of clichés and superficiality. Because (I hope) hundreds of thousands of young people will listen to us, we will bear a great responsibility for every word we broadcast."

Finally, then, we are getting something which is taken for granted in many countries. Therefore, let us appreciate that the patrons of this project, among whom are the new Central Director of Czechoslovak Radio, Karel Kvapil,

have managed to assert their aim and let us hope that the new station becomes what it is intended to become—that is, a radio station for young people.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 3-9 Aug
AU1108101089

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 4 to 10 August report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Karel Hoffmann, in the presence of Miroslav Stepan, presented Anatoliy Ovsyannikov, a councillor at the Soviet Embassy, with the Order of Friendship, in Prague on 3 August. (RUDE PRAVO 4 Aug 89 p 2)

Frantisek Hanus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee secretary, attended the ascent of the Rysy Mountain in Tatranska Lomnica on 3 August. (RUDE PRAVO 4 Aug 89 p 2)

Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, paid a working visit to Kosice in East Slovakia on 3 August. (PRAVDA 4 Aug 89 p 1) He continued his visit to the region by touring enterprises and institutions in Michalovce on 4 August. (PRAVDA 5 Aug 89 p 1)

Karel Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, paid a visit to the Prace united agricultural collective in Znojmo on 7 August. (RUDE PRAVO 8 Aug 89 p 2)

Would-Be Emigrants Demonstrate at Berlin Wall
LD1308163989 Hamburg DPA in German
1624 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—GDR citizens wishing to emigrate demonstrated at the Brandenburg Gate on Sunday. They were prevented by security officers and uniformed men from throwing roses over the Wall. According to eyewitness reports, they are said to have shouted: "We want to get out." About 10 people were detained temporarily. Some of the demonstrators belong to a group of would-be emigrants who regularly meet in the Treptow Confessional Church.

The 50 or so mostly young GDR citizens first walked to the Bonn permanent mission in East Berlin. There they were pushed away by police. Afterward, they continued their march to the Brandenburg Gate. The participants reported that more GDR citizens joined the demonstration spontaneously. Members of the People's Police and civilian members of the state security service checked people's identities and called on them to leave the area in front of the Brandenburg Gate immediately. Some of the demonstrators were taken away in unmarked cars and patrol cars of the security forces. [passage omitted]

Three more people were detained at the Brandenburg Gate during the evening. According to eyewitness reports, they were taken away in the grasp of policemen. In all at least 100 GDR citizens were involved in the identity checks. When asked, the security forces spoke of "searches for things and people." Among other things, the demonstrators shouted out: "The mind is powerless if power is mindless."

289 GDR Refugees Staying in FRG Missions
AU1008093789 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network
in German 0900 GMT 10 Aug

[Excerpt] The GDR has officially admitted today that 131 GDR citizens have taken refuge in the FRG Permanent Mission in East Berlin and another 158 citizens are at Bonn's embassy in Budapest. [passage omitted]

FRG Stance Criticized

LD1108144789 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1258 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier received for a discussion in Berlin today Permanent Secretary Dr Klaus-Juergen Duisberg from the FRG Chancellor's Office at the latter's request. During this talk questions relating to the present stay by some GDR citizens in FRG permanent missions were discussed.

Kurt Nier stressed that questions of travel, including permanent exit, are dealt with in GDR law and that these rules are binding on all citizens. The attempts by a few people to blackmail the authorities into allowing them to leave the country by staying in FRG missions

and circumventing the laws are decisively rejected by the GDR. The deputy foreign minister also noted that under the norms of international law the FRG has absolutely no "right of care" for GDR citizens, can in no way act on their behalf, and thus does not have any right to take GDR citizens into its embassies. This type of practice has to be rejected by the GDR as interference in its internal affairs and can only lead to a strain on bilateral relations. Kurt Nier pointed out that the FRG knows how generous the GDR is in settling questions of travel and bringing families together. This is proved by figures that are repeatedly published.

Kurt Nier stressed that the GDR continues to be interested in the development of normal and pragmatic relations with the FRG, as agreed in the communique concerning the visit to the FRG by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State. He said he expects the FRG to behave in the same way.

Border Infiltration From W. Berlin Protested
LD1308091789 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0848 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Several masked culprits entered GDR sovereign territory in the Heinersdorf region, Zossen Kreis [district], from West Berlin during the night of 12 to 13 August 1989, and destroyed border security installations. It is only thanks to the GDR border troops' level-headed conduct that this provocative attack did not lead to grave consequences.

The GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs has lodged a resolute protest against this provocative action with the West Berlin Senate and demanded that the guilty party be punished. The expectation was expressed that the West Berlin Senate will take the requisite measures in order to stop such illegal actions.

Krenz Receives Nicaraguan FSLN Delegation
AU1008202589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 10 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Fraternal Relations Between the SED and the Nicaraguan FSLN"]

[Text] Berlin—Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, received the members of the Sandinist Assembly of the Nicaraguan Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN], Julio Lopez, head of the FSLN International Relations Department, and Monica Baltodano, minister in the president's office, for friendly talks on Tuesday [8 August]. Egon Krenz paid tribute to the close relations of friendship and fraternal cooperation between the SED and the FSLN. The Nicaraguan politicians expressed their appreciation for the constant solidarity shown by the SED and the GDR toward Sandino's people. They conveyed fraternal greetings of friendship from Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the

FSLN National Leadership Executive Commission and president of the Republic of Nicaragua, to the SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, which Egon Krenz reciprocated cordially on Erich Honecker's behalf.

Egon Krenz expounded to his guests the GDR working people's activities, rich in initiative, in preparation for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and in view of the 12th SED Congress.

Julio Lopez and Monica Baltodano gave a report on the current situation in Nicaragua and the measures taken by the FSLN for the defense of the revolution. They stressed that the recent national dialogue in the country and the political agreement reached by all Nicaraguan parties taking part in it, demonstrated the Nicaraguan leadership's firm will to consistently continue on the road toward a just political solution to the conflict in Nicaragua and Central America.

Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the Central Committee International Relations Department, took part in the talk in which problems of further cooperation between the SED and the FSLN were discussed.

Scheduled Intra-German Flights Resume 10 Aug
LD1008095289 Hamburg DPA in German
0808 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Text] Frankfurt (DPA)—The first intra-German scheduled flight since World War II, a Lufthansa Boeing 737-300, took off today almost on time at 0920 from

Frankfurt's Rhein-Main airport, heading for Leipzig. Lufthansa Executive Chairman Heinz Ruhnau, who was present at the opening [passage indistinct] described the new flight connection as a "good sign" and a beginning that could help raise intra-German air traffic relations to a new level.

Lufthansa will fly every Monday and Thursday from Frankfurt to Leipzig. The GDR airline Interflug will fly twice-weekly between Leipzig and Duesseldorf, starting its first scheduled flight on Friday.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 4-8 Aug
AU1208153989

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 4 to 9 August reports the following appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

Egon Krenz, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council and member of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, received outgoing Norwegian Ambassador Erik Christian Selmer in Berlin on 7 August. (8 Aug, p 2) He received members of the Sandinist National Liberation Front in Berlin on 8 August. (9 Aug, p 2)

Harry Tisch, chairman of the National Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation and member of the Politburo, met with a delegation of the FRG Union of Bank, Trade, and Insurance Employees in Rostock on 4 August. (5-6 Aug, p 2)

Minister Interviewed on GDR Refugee Problem

*LD1308224889 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1700 GMT 13 Aug 89*

[Interview with Istvan Horvath, minister of internal affairs, by unidentified correspondent on "The Week" program; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The Hungary that is dismantling its iron curtain and trying to build a constitutional state seems to be an ideal territory for escape attempts. The trouble is, however, that the vision of a far-from-ideal future is beginning to take shape before the Hungarian Government, in which our country becomes the territory of legal and illegal emigration and transit traffic between Eastern Europe and the West. It is beyond any doubt that the Hungarian Government does not want this. However, it has to struggle with the consequences resulting from the situation. Istvan Horvath, minister of internal affairs, has given an exclusive interview on this edition of "The Week."

[Correspondent] I don't think I'm exaggerating if I say that the stamping practice of the Hungarian authorities has created quite an international antipathy regarding the passports of GDR citizens.

[Horvath] This antipathy is a bit constrained at present, it is fed artificially somewhat and I also have to say that, of course, it is not the press which causes it, but, I do have to say that the press, regarding the solution of the matter, did not do a good turn for those organs, whether it be those of Hungary, the FRG, or the GDR, which deal with this.

[Correspondent] What did we do wrong?

[Horvath] Well, you and the entirety of Hungarian public opinion should know, and if you like, the world—that is if this affair has a response there—also should know that there are things that are not discussed. That is that, this stamping business in the travel documents is not a special and particular Hungarian invention, but, I can say, that although not compulsory, it is rather a widespread international practice which could be called general.

[Correspondent] Do they stamp the travel documents of those violating the border everywhere?

[Horvath] Well, I cannot give a precise and reliable answer in a concrete manner to this on whether or not this happens everywhere, but in a whole line of countries this stamping practice is carried out just like it is in Hungary. The Hungarian organs do not apply this as a basis for retaliation against GDR citizens. But this is applied by the Hungarian authorities against any foreign citizen visiting Hungary from any other country who may violate Hungarian laws, if he infringes the rules of staying in Hungary or if he commits a crime or violation of rules in this country.

[Correspondent] The question, of course, does arise: Would it not be enough to find some sort of process, only for the purpose of informing the Hungarian authorities, against those GDR citizens who committed illegal border crossings, whose permit to remain has expired, and who want to leave here illegally?

[Horvath] Well, we are still searching for a solution as to whether it is possible to create some sort of different system in the future, but let me add that in the FRG, as well, if the Hungarian citizen's permit to remain is withdrawn or if he is expelled, then this is stamped on his visa so that his own border authorities should see that this person cannot enter the country or that he cannot return for a certain period of time. This is why we also apply this method, and this is what the stamp means.

[Correspondent] So, this is internal information, necessary for the Hungarian authorities, but it gets out and it makes the life of the GDR citizen difficult when he returns home. I think this is the substance of the matter here.

[Horvath] Well, all right, but if a Hungarian is expelled from the FRG, then that information will get out and will also become known by the Hungarian authorities.

[Correspondent] Is this a general international solution?

[Horvath] I can say that many countries apply this.

[Correspondent] But you have said that you are thinking about a solution?

[Horvath] Yes, and I would like to emphasize this, too. Let me add something to this affair, if you will allow me. The Hungarian organs, the organs of internal and foreign affairs alike, are not in an easy situation regarding this matter. What is more, I can say that they are in a rather difficult situation. The reason for this is that we do not want to display any behavior that would cause a deterioration in our relations with either of these two countries, but in the present situation the handling of the affair is being made more difficult by the fact that both countries demand from Hungary radically different and contrary procedures which, incidentally, almost cancel each other out. However, we have our own responsibility, which is the responsibility of every sovereign country, that is, to observe our laws and to make sure these laws are observed.

[Correspondent] Yes, but in a considerable part of the world—and luckily we too now belong to this part—citizens having valid travel documents may come and go as they please. I think this is a rather essential part of this circle of questions.

[Horvath] There is no doubt about this. Well, look, the practice of travel and the documents connected with it are not the same. At the same time, regarding this affair of the GDR citizens, one has to say that the past and the roots of the problem go back rather a long way.

[Correspondent] All the way to the Wall?

[Horvath] I can say that they go way beyond that, but really, these are the consequences of World War II. If even the one-time Big Four allied powers in World War II, as well as the two German parties concerned could not find a solution themselves, then now, how can Hungary, which is not a judge in these matters, be expected to either? So, what can we do? We are searching for a way, for solutions, but I have to say that this was clear for us when we joined the Refugee Convention, that we are unprepared for many things. We have not created the internal rules for judging the refugee question. This, I hope, will be ready by the beginning of October.

[Correspondent] Moreover, we have separate agreements with a lot of socialist countries, if not with all of them, which, if we compare with our joining the Geneva Convention, then the two [word indistinct] almost disqualify each other.

[Horvath] Yes, you are quite right. You know the situation very well; perhaps not with every socialist country, but by all means, with a wide circle of them. This is true regarding primarily our neighbors and the socialist countries that are near to us or share a border with us.

[Correspondent] So, after all, the fact that we inform the GDR authorities as to who attempted an illegal border crossing in our country, this is due, more or less, to our bilateral agreement which was made in 1969. Is that right?

[Horvath] Yes, this was an earlier practice, when we would have also handed over a list. We have not been doing this for a certain period of time. They do not receive a list from us; they are informed about it from the stamping.

[Correspondent] This is such nuance that I do not know whether it is worth evaluating separately.

[Horvath] Well, yes, but the our country's state organs cannot carry out a practice that would make Hungary, for the many millions of citizens visiting it from the neighboring socialist countries...

[Correspondent, interrupting] A transit route to the West?

[Horvath] That is right, that we would become a stepping-stone, a trampoline, so to speak.

[Correspondent] How are we going to avoid this?

[Horvath] Well, I think that the stipulation of the Refugee Convention will possibly provide us with a correct procedure and judgment.

[Correspondent] Then comes the practice from which many problems will arise.

[Horvath] It must not be mixed up. The stipulation of the Refugee Convention is another matter, which is not the agreement document for emigration or for resettlement from one country to the other. Well, it would be very difficult to imagine if, for example, in 1 year, 1 and 1/2 or 2 million tourists came here from the GDR, that these people would come here because they are persecuted at home or because they would all be political refugees. Let me tell you one thing: These are matters requiring discretion, and a certain amount of patience and understanding, too.

[Correspondent] The reason we are forced to tiptoe in this is because the concrete matters in the relations of the two countries are easier to manage without any fuss, for example, if we regard GDR-Hungarian relations. Or is it better for all parties concerned if there is not a great deal of fuss?

[Horvath] I believe that this is not important, first of all in relations between Hungary and the GDR, but in relations between the FRG and the GDR. It does not do any good for the cause if state officials of various ranks from one or the other country, through various press statements, keep sending messages to each other and giving each other advice as to how to run affairs and what procedures to follow.

Szokai Comments on 1968 Decision on CSSR

*LD1108114189 Budapest MTI in English
0838 GMT 11 Aug 89*

[Text] Budapest, August 11 (MTI)—"It is obvious today that the decision to move the military in Czechoslovakia in 1968 was essentially wrong. However, it was not Hungary that made the decision," Imre Szokai, deputy chief of the HSWP Central Committee [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Department of International Party Relations, says in an interview carried by Friday's NEPSZABADSAG under the title "No More Fraternal Tanks."

On the open letter in which Alexander Dubcek, former general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPC), and Oldrich Cernik, former prime minister, called on the ruling parties and governments of five socialist countries, including Hungary, to renounce their military intervention of August 21, 1968, Mr Szokai had the following to say: The HSWP Central Committee Bureau informed Comrades Dubcek and Cernik of the receipt of their letter of July. "The task of assessing the internal political events in Czechoslovakia at the time falls naturally in the scope of the Czechoslovak people and their Communist Party. It seems inexpedient to

interfere in their duties from outside, although it is not necessary to conceal our opinion either. Especially not when participation in the intervention is increasingly becoming a political issue, for instance in Hungary. ...Since some socialist countries have already started to explore and reassess our common past, it would be only reasonable if the countries involved examined their one-time decision together. ...Until a common analysis is possible, the individual states should draw the necessary conclusions on their own."

"Facts and documents unanimously indicate," says Mr Szokai "that Janos Kadar had warned Dubcek to be more cautious well before the intervention. And he did that because he feared a kind of intervention and Hungary had already had some experience. I want to emphasize that the Hungarian leadership was divided until the last minute on the issue of participation."

When they made the decision to take part in the action they did not only have to take account of the moral aspect, but also had to make sure that the freedom of movement and achievements of the economic reform launched in 1968, in fact its very existence, would be protected. It is another matter that even our participation failed to prevent the reversal of Hungarian reform processes in the early seventies.

The HSWP seems to have learnt the most important lessons of 1968: It has explicitly dissociated itself from the "Stalin-Khrushchev-Brezhnev" doctrine, namely the principle of "limited sovereignty", which was the basis of the Czechoslovak intervention. ...In future, it will be necessary to work out new principles for our relations and provide proper safeguards to prevent such interventions on the part of the Warsaw Treaty, as well as interference on the part of the Warsaw Treaty, as well as interference with the domestic issues of the member states." [quotation mark as received].

To the question whether the allies would "come to our assistance" if the HSWP was defeated in the elections, in other words, whether "fraternal tanks" would arrive, Mr Szokai replied: "Most certainly, not."

Opposition Groups Protest Party Presence at Jobs
LD1208152489 Budapest MTI in English
1315 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 12 (MTI)—A demonstration was held on Saturday in the city of Tata (central Hungary) by local Hungarian Democratic Forum, Alliance of Free Democrats, Federation of Young Democrats and Independent Smallholder's Party activists in protest against the presence of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in places of employment.

Prior to the demonstration, the fifty-strong group built a barricade out of cardboard boxes symbolising the Berlin wall, which was demolished during the rally.

Participants marched through the main street of the city carrying banners, signs and flags in the national colours, but no incidents were recorded.

Armored Brigade Disbanded in Szabadszallas
LD1108155489 Budapest MTI in English
1508 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 11 (MTI)—The command issued by Colonel General Franc Karpati, minister of defence, for disbanding the armoured brigade stationed in Lajos Kosuth barracks of Szabadszallas, central Hungary, was read out at a festive meeting on the spot on Friday.

As reported earlier, the Hungarian Government, which accepted the proposal of the military leadership, decided to cut the troops and arms of the People's Army by 9 per cent in 1989 and 1990. The first phase of the troops cut announced in the spirit of international confidence and security-building took place at Szabadszallas.

The meeting was attended by members of the Hungarian delegation at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces, diplomats accredited to Hungary from 15 countries, and Hungarian and foreign journalists, who were allowed to move about freely in the barracks, see anything and speak to anyone.

So far, about 100 conscripts have been discharged. 2,000 reserve officers and common soldiers will no longer be required at Szabadszallas. The evacuation of the barracks is to start on August 1 and end by late August.

The majority of the 700 technical means are to be melted down in Danube iron works of Danaújvaros, and some vehicles and tanks will be used for peaceful purposes.

Ten vacant officers' flats have been handed over to Transylvanian refugees free of charge.

Reserve Meat Supplies Freed, Exports Reduced
LD1108154389 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1400 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] There have been developments today in Hungary's meat affairs: The Ministry of Trade has freed the reserve meat supplies and it has reduced the quantity of exported pork in order to improve our country's meat supplies which are having problems. In the meantime, coordination talks are being held with the foreign partners on accepting beef instead of pork. Frozen pork is being put into circulation, and if supplies do not improve, the ministry plans further measures.

***MSZMP Performance in Elections Assessed**

Defeated in Szeged

25000369b Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
11 Jul 89 p 4

[Article by "(deak)": "Preparing for National Assembly Representative Elections in Szeged: MSZMP Suffers Defeat in Nomination Meetings"]

[Text] There was nationwide reaction to Sunday evening's [televised] report "The Week," concerning the results of meetings to nominate representatives to the National Assembly in Szeged. The results showed that two persons nominated by the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] could not muster one-third of the votes needed for official nomination. Therefore, at the 22 July elections only the nominee of the Hungarian Democratic Front [MDF] and an independent candidate with no party affiliation will run. The city party committee allegedly rejected responsibility for the defeat by saying that the two party members were not the official nominees of the MSZMP.

We first asked Csongrad County Party Committee Secretary Mrs Novak, Anna Halasz, about the details on Monday afternoon.

[Halasz] As far as I know the names of the two MSZMP candidates emerged as a result of a grassroots movement among local party members. Accordingly, their nomination was recommended primarily by people residing in the area. They were not the official nominees of the party committee in the sense that the party committee could become thoroughly acquainted with them in advance at a meeting of the city party committee, or in the sense that the city party committee could take a position with regard to their candidacy and their election program. No doubt, the fact that the Szeged city party committee is currently in a period of transition also played a role. In any event, the lesson to be learned from this case is that party members themselves do not understand what it means to nominate someone, to prepare for an election, and to conduct elections in the multiparty framework.

How does Dr Mihaly Revesz, Szeged City Party Committee provisional chairman, view the case?

[Revesz] I must say that the two persons in question were not nominated officially by the MSZMP city committee, but by a group of party members and the Patriotic Peoples Front [PPF]. The kind of platform represented by the candidates running under the MSZMP banner was made unequivocally clear in the course of preparations. In my view, a preliminary party vote should have been taken prior to nomination; this did not take place, however, in part due to lack of time, and in part due to lack of interest. This process confirms the fact that there is a lot to be done if we want to turn the MSZMP into a party which runs in elections. Part of the story is the fact that in the given National Assembly election district 22,000 citizens are

eligible to vote, but only 400 appeared at 3 nomination meetings. We estimate that from among these, between 90 and 100 voted for the Hungarian Democratic Forum. These people appeared at all three nomination meetings. All this proves that the MSZMP was not appropriately prepared for these meetings.

[NEPSZAVA] Do you regard this vote as an MSZMP election defeat?

[Revesz] For the time being, at most a nomination defeat is at issue. Under any circumstances, however, the events call attention to the fact that the MSZMP city committee must evaluate the lessons learned from the nomination meetings thoroughly and with circumspection. To accomplish this we will deal with this subject at a separate party meeting in the near future.

Party Endorses Opposition

25000369b Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
15 Jul 89 p 24

[Interview with Dr Levente Dobozy, independent nominee for National Assembly Representative, by Istvan Tanacs: "There Is a Need for Common Sense, Expertise, Free of Extremes"; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] The first district representative seat from Csongrad County was vacated as a result of Antal Apro's resignation. A decision as to who should occupy the vacant seat will be made in the 22 July elections. In the course of nomination meetings, Dr Levente Dobozy, attorney and independent candidate, and Dr Erno Raffay, historian and MDF nominee, received a sufficient number of votes to place their names on the ballot. Neither of the two MSZMP nominees received one-third of the votes at all the nomination meetings, and thus they must say farewell to the electoral race.

The NEPSZABADSAG county reporter asked Dr Levente Dobozy about his program and political views. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZABADSAG] Having lost its nominees, the MSZMP is supporting you now. What is your view?

[Dobozy] I did not join the MSZMP because I disagreed with the Communist Party's policies. This, however, should not mean that I believe that for 40 years only crooked things have taken place in this country. One must accept what is good, and reject what is bad. I feel that it would be nonsense to argue that every one of the MSZMP's 800,000 members were criminals, direct participants in the destruction of the country. People who listened to my program should know clearly the kind of program I advocate. I will accept the MSZMP's support with thanks, if the MSZMP leadership and membership offers this support aware of my program, even though their support will not change my views or theirs. I abhor all forms of terror of the mind, including the recruitment

of followers by appealing to the Hungarian sense of patriotism. In the difficult times to come we need common sense and expertise free of extremes. Hungarian history should teach us that uncontrolled sentiments and emotions coupled with incompetence always lead to societal explosions.

Apathy Invalidates Elections

25000369b Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
24 Jul 89 p 1

[Official election results: "What Happened to the Citizens: Only One Out of Four"]

[Text] On 22 July special elections were held in four election districts. The elections were administered consistent with law.

In Bacs-Kiskun County election district No 3 (Kecskemet), the number of registered voters is 19,735. Persons casting votes numbered 8,704, or 44.1 percent of those eligible to vote. The number of valid votes cast was 8,390, invalid votes numbered 314. Dr Jozsef Debreczeni received 3,967 votes (47.2 percent of votes), Zoltan Farkas received 519 votes (6.2 percent of votes), Dr Gyula Graner received 749 votes (8.9 percent of votes), Istvan Kiss received 1,865 votes (22.2 percent of votes), and Laszlo Varga received 1,251 votes (14.9 percent of votes). Votes cast against all candidates numbered 39. More than half of the number of persons eligible to vote did not take part in the elections. For this reason an additional special election must be held.

In Bacs-Kiskun County election district No 8 (Kiskunfelegyhaza), the number of registered voters is 26,005. Persons casting votes numbered 16,006, or 61.5 percent of those eligible to vote. The number of valid votes was 15,543, invalid votes numbered 463. Pal Fekete received 3,820 votes (24.5 percent of votes), Dr Istvan Garai received 6,985 votes (44.9 percent of votes), and Dr Laszlo Vas received 4,598 votes (29.6 percent of votes). Votes cast against all candidates numbered 140. None of the candidates received more than half of the valid votes. For this reason an additional special election must be held.

In Csongrad County election district No 1 (Szeged), the number of registered voters is 22,106. Persons casting votes numbered 9,953, or 45.2 percent of those eligible to vote. The number of valid votes was 9,603, invalid votes numbered 350. Dr Levente Dobozy received 3,750 votes (39.1 percent of votes), while Dr Erno Raffay received 5,701 votes (59.4 percent of votes). Votes cast against all candidates numbered 152. More than half of the number of persons eligible to vote did not take part in the elections. For this reason an additional special election must be held.

In Pest County election district No 4 (Godollo), the number of registered voters is 27,000. Persons casting votes numbered 15,977, or 59.2 percent of those eligible to vote. The number of valid votes was 15,728, invalid

votes numbered 249. Laszlo Korosfoi received 4,711 votes (29.9 percent of votes), while Gabor Roszik received 10,897 votes (69.2 percent of votes). Votes cast against all candidates numbered 120. The new representative elect of the district is Gabor Roszik.

The official results will be published in MAGYAR KOZLONY. The National Electoral Presidium [OVE] will hold new special elections on Saturday, 5 August 1989.

[Signed] Dr Istvan Kukorelli, OVE secretary; Dr Lajos Papp, OVE chairman

Results Interpreted

25000369b Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
24 Jul 89 p 5

[Interview with Antal Bohm, president of Doxapol Public Opinion Research Institute, and sociologist, by Aranka Rehas: "The Interpreter of Silence"; date, place not given]

[Text] Doxapol Public Opinion Research Institute conducted surveys prior to the elections in Godollo, Kecskemet, Szeged, and Kiskunfelegyhaza. The election results confirmed the forecasts: A large number of people abstained from voting.

[NEPSZABADSAG] How do you explain this?

[Bohm] This is the reflex of a depoliticized society, the position taken by a mass of people trained not to deal with politics. Our earlier findings were also confirmed by the fact that a majority of citizens do not deal with politics, they are not interested in who will represent them and who represents what. This is because from the standpoint of the silent majority politics are still conducted above the heads of citizens—it is a matter they have no way of influencing.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In earlier days a much larger number of people participated in Hungarian elections.

[Bohm] In a monopolistic society people are afraid that failing to vote will have consequences, so they cast their votes. No society exists with a 99.96 percent voter participation. The average is between 60 and 70 percent. The present rate of abstention comes as a surprise to many because they assumed a heightened election mood, whereas only a tight group of people deals with these issues. And that is cause for concern.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Why? There may be calm behind silence.

[Bohm] This silent mass does not express an opinion, an intention, a will, and so we do not know what it holds inside, in which direction it may move. This is not a state of calm, this is the calm before the storm, and this may

also be educational from the standpoint of the opposition. They believe that they forged capital out of the voters' anti-MSZMP stance, except for the fact that, as far as the majority of citizens is concerned, there is no force for the time being which could move this majority. At this point they sense only this: They do not have to cast their votes, even though they will be forced to deal with the issue of who represents them, which party should win. But for the time being they have not even grasped that they have a real choice, that something depends on their vote. Dealing with politics must be learned slowly; it cannot be learned in the course of 1 year.

***Party Leadership Reassures Intelligentsia**
25000370b Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
20 Jul 89 p 5

[Text] Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] chairman Rezo Nyers, Executive Secretary Karoly Grosz, and Central Committee Secretary Janos Barabas met with members of the intelligentsia at the MSZMP Central Committee headquarters. The group, composed of teachers, engineers, and economists, wrote to the MSZMP Central Committee in June presenting their views and future expectations concerning the October party congress and party policies.

At the Wednesday meeting Barabas greeted the guests and briefly summarized the preparations for the party congress, and the issues on the party leadership's mind regarding the party congress. The Central Committee secretary said that the chief task of the congress is to provide a program, to adopt modern organizational rules, and to elect the new party leadership.

Regarding the preparations for the new congress, Barabas expressed his opinion that there is a good chance now that the MSZMP can avoid a split. As he said, this is important because in the wake of a possible rift the party could fall apart. This would create a power vacuum, which in turn would endanger peaceful transition.

In conclusion, Barabas spoke about the relationship between the party and the intelligentsia. As part of the crisis of confidence the party leadership's relationship with the intelligentsia has weakened. It is important for this reason also to tighten, and if necessary to rebuild, this relationship, and to formulate a direct cooperative relationship with the party intelligentsia, one with personal contacts.

Based on the experience of past months, a majority of the persons commenting at the meeting pointed out to the party leadership that the MSZMP is continuously retreating, that it is forced into the defensive, and that this results in uncertain feelings on the part of the party membership. They also suggested that the party core is weak. A trend which rejects bourgeois restoration, but at the same time works on reforming socialism, does not manifest itself in a pronounced fashion either in the Central Committee or in the leading bodies of the party.

One speaker pointed out that the MSZMP is gradually shifting toward the will of the people, which is to the right of the actual party center.

Another argument held that the MSZMP has become a self-consuming, defensive party. The speaker added that as a matter of reflex the party continues to drag its past.

Several guests chastised the party because in their view economic reforms have been moved to the background, and are secondary to political and social reform measures. This is in spite of the fact that the development of a more pronounced economic concept is most important today. Members of the intelligentsia visiting party headquarters were unanimous in saying that an active, debating, but not a fighting party is needed, an MSZMP in which party leaders are capable of placing personal ambitions above party interests.

Responding to these statements Nyers explained that in reality the MSZMP is not on the defensive. Simply put, the MSZMP has had to implement corrective measures which may have created the semblance of retreat, but which, in reality were directed toward the establishment of a new position. Assessing the domestic political mood of the past months, the party chairman noted that the opposition was unable to seat the MSZMP on the defendant's bench. They were unable to make public opinion accept the idea that all the mistakes of the past period were the fault of the MSZMP.

Responding to the proposals Nyers said that at present there is no need to struggle on a dual front, instead the need is for a fight to obtain society's votes in the next elections. He added: This, of course, does not mean that the party would not remove itself from political extremes.

Public opinion and society do not expect primarily strategy and tactical guidance from the party, Nyers stressed; they want the crisis to be resolved. For this reason the MSZMP must be the party of the people, and not the party of a class.

Defense Ministry Holds News Conference 9 Aug
LD0908203789 Budapest MTI in English
1720 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 9 (MTI)—Some 32,460 conscripts are to be discharged from the Hungarian People's Army until mid-August and replaced, on August 29-30, by 31,800 privates, including 940 young people who are to start their university studies in September next year, officials of the Ministry of Defence told the press on Wednesday.

Under the new law, 195 conscripts have applied for civil service and there were 58 applications for unarmed military service which is an established institution within the Army. The applications for civil service will be evaluated in October and those opting for it called up next year.

The ministry officials gave briefs on preparations for the inauguration ceremony of young officers and the traditional fireworks on August 20.

It was also reported at the press conference held at the Ministry of Defence that young professional officers will take the ceremonial oath, as is customary, on August 20 in front of the parliament building. The 800 new officers will take an oath to defend the country, the constitution, and to observe the service regulations according to the re-edited text.

The question of the future utilization of barracks vacated in the wake of the partial Soviet troop withdrawal was also discussed. As the Council of Ministers decided at its July 17 session to market the vacated facilities, a tender will be announced in September for the real estate (with the exception of Grassalkovich Palace, Godollo, and the buildings next to Esztergom Cathedral). Local councils and private individuals can apply for any of the properties with equal chances. All revenues will go into the state budget, and the Ministry of Defence will not share in the sales.

The Fraternal Society of Professional Soldiers, Reserve Soldiers and Retired Officers and Sub-Officers, set up for interest representation, has begun operation in the Nagykanizsa garrison. The societies now being organized in several places around the country aim to protect the moral and financial interests of their members, the fostering of progressive military traditions, and to care for the graves of soldiers who lost their lives in Hungary and abroad.

In conclusion, Brigadier General Egon Szabo, first deputy of the chief of the Political Division of the Hungarian People's Army, discussed the incident set off by a critical letter recently addressed to the Ministry of Defence by 46 conscripts from Cegled. They complained that leaders of the People's Army were not doing enough to depoliticize the Army, military intelligence was striving to control the world outlook of the conscripts, religious soldiers were bad.

The brigadier general stressed that the ministry does not wish to call to account the writers of the letter which, in his view, was not very well thought out. It would rather be turning its attention to the possible solution of the problems raised. The leaders of the ministry continue to have doubts about whether the letter was actually written by conscripts, or was formulated somewhere else. However, the provenance of the letter will not be investigated further to prove the ministry's fact-like approach to the problems.

Discussing the political content of the letter, the brigadier general was of the opinion that armies free of politics do not exist anywhere in the world. The demand to depoliticize the army is thus incomprehensible. That the operation of the People's Army should be in keeping with constitutionality and the existing laws is a just demand, though. Therefore, the ministry expects the future law on parties to clearly formulate the conditions for the operation of parties within the People's Army.

With respect to the service living conditions of religious people, it is a fact that students at seminaries are sent to special corps, but this is done at the request of church leaders. High-ranking church leaders recently had the opportunity to inspect the living circumstances of soldiers in such corps, and—according to their reports—their experiences did not coincide with the accusatory tone of the letter.

In conclusion, Brigadier General Szabo requested all Hungarian political organizations to show due political maturity and to spare the force of the Hungarian People's Army from their battles. If they expect the People's Army not to use its force in political battles, then others should also not try to gain the upper hand in the daily political battles by making use of young conscripts. The political organizations which have something to say about the operation of the People's Army should turn directly to the Ministry of Defence with their observations.

Deputy Roszik Explains Opposition's Plans

AU1208141389 Vienna KURIER in German
11 Aug 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Pastor Gabor Roszik, the first freely elected deputy in Hungary since 1947, by Stefan Galoppi: "We Lead Hungary Out of the Warsaw Pact;" date, place not given]

[Text]

- On his election victory: People have certainly voted against the past 40 years of communist rule, but also for democracy, freedom and pluralism.
- On his political position: The Hungarian Democratic Forum is guided by Christian democratic principles, such as those of the Austrian People's Party, for example, and by the largest opposition movement with its 17,000 members. We want a peaceful transition from dictatorship to democracy.
- On relations among opposition groups: We have very good contacts with all groups and cooperate with them in various ways. However, there will not be a merger. It is good to have many parties. We think it might be a good idea to form an opposition coalition in parliament. Cooperation with reform-minded communists is unlikely: They are still communists.
- On the opposition's chances in the elections: Elections are scheduled to be held before March 1990. We have no money and no papers. Despite this fact, we will capture 40-50 percent of the vote, the communists no

more than 30 percent. We still have a lot to learn—how to work in parliament, how to lead a government—and we are grateful for any advice. However, if we win a majority, we will assume the risk of having to prove that we are able to govern. We will find the right persons for the government.

- On the behavior of the communists: They believe that victories for the opposition were isolated cases. The reformers say that they want democratic elections and that they would also accept a defeat. The truth is that they do not take a defeat into consideration.
- On the irreversibility of reforms: I do not think that we will suffer a setback. However, this is possible theoretically: The communist party is still in power, the Soviet Army is still in Hungary, even if we currently act as if it was not there.
- On roundtable dialogue: It is becoming increasingly difficult. The communist party refuses to return to the state possessions that it has accumulated—buildings, papers, assets—and it wants to install Pozsgay as president at any cost before the elections.
- On the future behavior toward the Warsaw Pact: We would like to lead Hungary out of the Warsaw Pact. This is not possible overnight and requires careful negotiations. However, it should be possible within 5 years. The Soviets would have to leave our country as well.

Free Democrats Hold Rally in Budapest

LD1308201989 Budapest MTI in English
1943 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 13 (MTI)—Hungary should again find attached with Europe and this could only be achieved by a democratic, constitutional state, disposing of adequate economic concepts. A key issue to this end is considered by the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) to be the ownership reform, it was said at today's Budapest rally of the alliance, attended by some 500 persons. The event was also attended by leaders of SZDSZ, Gaspar Miklos Tamas, Laszlo Rajk Jr, and Gabor Demszky, who briefed participants on the party's political concepts.

In the opinion held by SZDSZ, the national elections should be held when the minimum conditions are given for successful organisation which will not be before March next year. Regarding the question of electing the president of the Republic, in the opinion of SZDSZ a strong presidential power would be inadmissible in present circumstances.

The election of the president of the Republic is an important issue of debate at the roundtable discussions between the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and the opposition. According to the governing party, in the process of the transition to a multi-party system, a president elected by the public could play an important stabilising role.

Pecs Party Body Supports Miners' Demonstration

LD1108220289 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Excerpts] The Pecs town Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] committee supports a miners' demonstration planned for 30 August. [passage omitted]

The party organization and the enterprises involved have already asked the government several times to help solve their problems and to dissipate the uncertainty of the miners' situation by formulating long-term economic policy plans. This has still not happened, and the miners also wish to protest their defenseless position with their action.

The town party committee demands that the government finally make a decision about the fate of two large mining enterprises. To make their demands more emphatic, they have called on our party members in Pecs to join in the planned miners' demonstration.

Trade Union Reform Circle Formed, Changes Due

LD1208203189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Summary] The Trade Union Reform Circle has been formed. One of the founders, Dr Laszlo Gunics from the Transport and Transportation Workers Trade Union, said that the union bodies are not made up of people who are consistently committed to reform. In the present structure, it is almost impossible for reformists to conquer the upper forces which are clinging to the past. People unfit for leading positions should be ousted through elections.

New Envoy to Uruguay Presents Credentials

LD1408111889 Budapest MTI in English
1013 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] Montevideo, August 14 (MTI)—Janos Kiss, Hungarian ambassador to Uruguay, presented his credentials to Julio Maria Sanguinetti, president of the Republic on August 10.

New Television Company To Begin Broadcasting

LD1108143689 Budapest MTI in English
1409 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 11 (MTI)—The Hungarian cinema and video company and the Mai Nap Co., the publisher of the "MAI NAP" (Today) afternoon daily, have founded Nap TV (Today TV) to telecast morning programmes twice a week.

Nap TV has received official permission and is to broadcast a trial programme on the first channel of the Hungarian television on August 19. Regular programmes are to start in September.

Prime Minister Kiszczak Resigns Post 14 Aug
LD1408171589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] General Czeslaw Kiszczak has resigned from the office of prime minister.

Opposition Parties Discuss Forming Coalition

Solidarity, ZSL, SD Meet
LD1108213689 Warsaw PAP in English
1954 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 11—Bogdan Krolewski, secretary of the Central Committee of the United Peasant Party [ZSL], Tadeusz Rymaszewicz, secretary of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party [SD], and Jaroslaw Kaczynski, representative of the Solidarity National Executive Commission, met at the Peasant Party's seat here today.

The sides discussed Lech Walesa's proposal of last Aug. 7 on coalition between the parties concerned. The talks will continue.

Walesa Plans To Attend Talks
LD1408122189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0600 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] Unofficial sources, citing Solidarity reports, say that Lech Walesa has come to Warsaw where he will meet today with the chairmen of the United Peasants Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD], Roman Malinowski and Jerzy Jozwiak. It is not impossible that he will also meet with Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak, which would be a response to the proposal made by the premier in a PAP interview.

AFP Reports Planned Talks
AU1308200689 Paris AFP in English
1833 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 13 (AFP)—Embattled Polish Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak is to hold talks with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa here Monday, sources close to the trade union said Sunday.

Mr. Walesa, who has called for Gen. Kiszczak's resignation, left his hometown Gdansk on Sunday to drive to Warsaw, the sources said.

Analysts expect Mr. Kiszczak to renew his efforts to persuade Mr. Walesa to bring Solidarity into a coalition government with the ruling communists.

Mr. Walesa appealed last week to the communists' traditional allies, the United Peasants' Party (ZSL) and the Democratic Party (SD), to form a coalition excluding the ruling Polish United Workers' Party, but the prospects of such a deal have dimmed.

He has so far rebuffed Gen. Kiszczak's overtures, and on Friday again called on Poland's President Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski to sack Gen. Kiszczak, who was elected premier by parliament on August 2.

Walesa Meeting Called Off
LD1408122389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1200 GMT 14 Aug 89

[Text] According to the REUTER agency, citing Solidarity representatives, the earlier announced meeting between Lech Walesa and Roman Malinowski and Jerzy Jozwiak has been unexpectedly called off. Simultaneously, it was stated that talks on the possibilities of creating a coalition government between Solidarity and the United Peasants Party [ZSL] and Democratic Party [SD] will be continued.

Geremek on Coalition Prospects
LD1108111789 Paris Domestic Service in French
0600 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] It is a chaotic week in Poland where the opposition says it is now ready to form a government coalition with reformist Communists. For Bronislaw Geremek, Solidarity's number two person, the time has come to put an end to the system of nomenclature in order to get out of the political and economic crisis which is affecting Poland. Christine Villevoisin contacted Professor Geremek by telephone:

[Begin Geremek recording in French] We can now form a government which will represent the reformist forces in the country. We are under the impression that the party has not yet overcome the frustration caused by the results of the last election. If the party manages to overcome these moments of frustration, I think it could then accept the solution we are proposing. In any case, it is impossible under these circumstances in Poland to exercise the same power monopoly as the Polish Workers' Party has been exercising for many years. The main role remains inscribed in the Constitution and it is no longer valid in political reality. Reforms cannot be realized in Poland without overcoming this system of nomenclature. [end recording]

Solidarity Commentary
AU1408161989 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish
10 Aug 89 p 3

[Jan Rokita article: "A New Agreement?"; words entirely in capital letters as published]

[Text] We reject the contention that an ancient classical drama is being played out in Poland, a drama which sooner or later must end in catastrophe. If this is indeed the reality, then the logic of the situation dictates only one way out, namely, the formation of a true grand political coalition which will consist of a part of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and the existing "democratic opposition."

Both sides, however, are presently behaving in a way which suggests that when they were signing the "roundtable" accords on the 5 April they were oblivious to this fact. The party is fearful that its ranks will be seen to be clearly split and divided. It sees the main threat to its position coming from having to make further concessions to its opponent which it now perceives as significantly strengthened.

Similar behavior is shown by our side. First, we missed the chance of forcing to our advantage the principle of joint government by giving away for free the national list which was lost by the PZPR. Later, we surreptitiously helped to secure the election of the leader of the Communists to the presidency, without having the courage to publicly formulate the conditions for securing his election.

On the subject of forming the new government, both Walesa and Jaruzelski have been throwing propositions at one another. From our side has come the proposition to form the whole government, from the other side has come the proposition to have the deputy premiership and the economic and social ministerial portfolios in Kiszczak's government. Both propositions were advanced without the slightest belief that they would be acceptable to the other side.

A grand coalition is therefore a solution which nobody seems to want. The paradox begins when the party propaganda begins accusing us of trying to avoid joint responsibility for our disintegrating country. On our side, we put out assurances that we would be prepared to accept such responsibility, but the conditions offered to us are not as we would like them to be. Both sides, it seems, are content with this state of affairs.

I believe that the continuation of the present state of things does the party no good, is disastrous for the opposition, and tragic for the country.

For the party this will mean a weak government, lacking a parliamentary majority and dependent on the good will of its allies, or at worst a few opposition deputies, under constant scrutiny by the opposition. The distribution of the highest posts in the party and the state by the people associated with the martial law period only exacerbates the already unfavorable psychological situation of the PZPR.

For us the tacit acquiescence in the election of a communist president, which precedes the formation of a communist government, signifies a political trap.

Not wanting to and not being able to support the new government team, we will not be able to efficiently combat it. By refusing to give it our support, we are guaranteeing that it will be weak and mistrusted by society. However, in times of crisis we shall have to rally to its support when the specter of national catastrophe is waved in front of our faces.

At the same time, such a situation deprives us of the initiative—which we lost at the presidential election—and pushes us aside to a position of political passivity. It is not we who will be forming political propositions and the face of the new reforms.

The government will bury us with its economic projects and the wordage of its statutory instruments. Trying to assimilate all this—in order to formulate our own opinion—we shall be sucked into this machinery, from which it will be impossible to extricate ourselves. It is certain that we will not be able to elaborate a solution leading to a peaceful change of the political system by going down this road. Conversely, we shall only succeed in perpetuating the present system.

Sooner or later, joint government has to become the institutionally accepted form for a grand coalition, with the participation of the opposition and the PZPR. We do not have to deceive public opinion into believing that it is necessarily OUR government, because opinion will then quite sensibly ask how we intend to govern faced by a hostile government apparatus, without a parliamentary majority, and fully dependent on the good will of the president.

Such a government has by its very nature to be COALITIONARY, in the precise meaning of the word. Before it can come into being, the two sides to the conflict must step outside the accords of the "roundtable." These accords were only sufficient to get us into parliament.

A coalition government can only come into being on the basis of a new political agreement that will specifically define the aims of its activity, along with its political and economic timetable. The agreement has to guarantee trust and wide prerogatives. The first of these will ensure a stable parliamentary majority, support from the "Solidarity" leadership and the president, the second will ensure the independence of the government from the various secretariats and commissions of the PZPR Central Committee.

We will not be able to avoid formulating our conditions for a grand coalition. It is important that this be done clearly and openly, and that it be readily understandable by public opinion. We must do this at the appropriate time.

Kiszczak Interviewed on Week's Events
LD1208005789 Warsaw PAP in English
2258 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 11—Following are excerpts of an interview granted to PAP by Poland's Prime Minister Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak.

Question: Prime Minister, how was the first week of the new head of government?

Answer: I devoted the last days to intensive consultations. I held many talks, both with representatives of political groupings, social organizations, parliamentary floor groups and candidates for government members.

I wish to stress that all the talks were matter-of-fact, full of the feeling of concern for the state and future of the country.

Q: Did you meet with Lech Walesa?

A: After the Sejm appointed me chairman of the Council of Ministers I was unable to bring about a substantive talk with Lech Walesa. I would like such a talk to take place as soon as possible.

Q: What are the concrete results of the talks held to-date and when can one expect the final formation of a new government?

A: It is too early to give concrete names as I have accepted the principle of considering several candidates for each post. Among them there are also people suggested to me by my interlocutors whom I mentioned before. I am consulting these candidatures with various groups, with deputies.

I am aware that society gets impatient with waiting for a new government. Nonetheless, I will present the final proposal of the composition of the Council of Ministers only when I receive initial approval—which I think will take place in late August—and when I have grounds to think that I have really chosen the most appropriate candidates.

Q: Will it be possible to implement the idea of a grand coalition government?

A: I am deeply convinced that the formation of such a government would be the best solution, especially warranted by the economic situation and the challenges facing our country. This would also be the logical consequence of the decisions of the "round table". The social agreement reached there is the foundation of the evolutionary transformations taking place in Poland at present. I would like to believe that all those who signed it will consider it as binding.

The various proposals forwarded of late are contradictory to this social agreement. The more so that taking into account the results of the elections, the forces of the political coalition met them halfway, proposing to the opposition a grand government coalition which was not envisaged at the "round table."

That is why I think that the concept of creating precisely such a government, presented by Wojciech Jaruzelski, is the most rational and advantageous for Poland.

Unfortunately, representatives of the citizen's parliamentary floor group reject direct participation in the government.

I am nonetheless not losing hope that the supreme reasons will prevail after all and a chance will surface for the creation of a government of national agreement. This offer still stands.

At the same time I state with satisfaction that there are also people representing various opposition political orientations and enjoying big social prestige who see a possibility of entering the government.

I also wish to stress the unchangingly constructive stand of the Roman Catholic Church towards the ideas of national agreement which were so clearly formulated at the "round table."

Q: Do you not fear that your mission could fail in light of the recent statement of Lech Walesa?

A: I am not viewing this in personal categories. Speaking without false coquetry, I would not treat the failure of Kiszczak's mission as a tragedy. This is not however exclusively my personal matter. That is why I would not be able to neglect the effects of a government crisis following my constitutional appointment to the post of premier. The country simply cannot afford a protracted impasse.

Is this a real threat? In politics delivering on reached agreements as well as partner-like loyalty should be respected values. The political contract reached at the "round table" guaranteed the vital political interests of all of PUWP's [Polish United Workers Party] coalition partners. I think that without it the parliamentary position of their representatives could at present look quite differently.

The United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party joined the social agreement along with the PUWP. We also jointly went into the elections. I think that this has definite consequences, that it obliges one. I say this because I have always placed lasting values above immediate interests. [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 2200 GMT on 11 August states that the Kiszczak interview with PAP will be published in the press of 12 August]

Moscow TV's Vremya Program Interviews Rakowski
LD1108211389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] The evening newscast on Soviet television has today shown an interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee.

[Begin Rakowski recording fading into Russian translation] First of all, as far as tasks of the Party are concerned... [end recording]

[Announcer] In the excerpt that was shown, Mieczyslaw Rakowski assessed the social and political situation in Poland. He stated that the introduction of market mechanisms is a necessity despite the fact that previous attempts in 1970, 1976, and 1980 were failures. The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee also answered a question on how the party assesses Lech Walesa's statement regarding the formation of the government by Czeslaw Kiszczak. Mieczyslaw Rakowski stressed that the opposition had changed its view on this matter several times.

OPZZ Statement on Economic, Political Situation
LD1108154989 Warsaw PAP in English
1512 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 11—The Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) made today a statement voicing its concern for sharp deterioration of the socio-economic and political situation in Poland. It said, in part:

"The to-date attempts at preventing the economy from collapsing and society from progressive disintegration do not bring expected effects. Proposals forwarded by the OPZZ have been rejected many times while society has been presented subsequent unrealistic visions of solutions to problems nagging (our society). This refers both to the ruling coalition and the opposition. On the one hand, they promise full shelves in shops after the so-called marketisation of the food economy, on the other, a new Marshall ten-billion dollars' plan.

"So far the attempt to marketise the food economy has only led to vehement price rises alongside the lack of improvement in supplies, spiralling inflation and further deterioration of living standards of working families, old age and disability pensioners. Also, the promised aid of the West has turned out to be another illusion.

"The OPZZ, as a representative of seven million working people and their families, is concerned about the fact that, facing the need of prompt and constructive activities of all social and political forces for lifting the country out of the crisis, both opposition and coalition elites concentrate their energy on securing own interests in tenders for posts in the frames of various coalition set-ups.

"Therefore, as unionists, we call on all parties and political movements represented in the Sejm and the Senate to stop activities which aggravate the crisis in the country and social unrest.

"We are ready to grant support to those political forces which will present a feasible program of getting our homeland out of the current condition of deep crisis in tune with the interests of working people."

Senate Debates Budget Law, CSSR 'Intervention'
LD1108110889 Warsaw PAP in English
1031 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 11—A meeting of the Senate, to define its stand on a draft law amending the 1989 budget law and some other laws, started.

The meeting's agenda was expanded to cover an item: "Statement by the Senate in connection with the 21st anniversary of the intervention of the Warsaw Treaty troops in Czechoslovakia."

Senate Session Reviewed
LD1108234789 Warsaw PAP in English
2006 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 11—The Polish Senate today determined its stance on the draft amendments to the Budget Law for this year and some other laws.

Under the Constitution amended in April, the procedure in parliament relating to the Budget Law and financial plans of the state (as well as the National Socio-Economic Plan) is different from the previous one.

The Senate is reviewing a draft budget law and presents its stance to the Sejm. Later on the Budget Law passed by the Sejm is tabled to the Senate which can forward proposals of specific amendments to the Sejm within 7 days. This new procedure with the said group of the most important economic laws is currently taking place for the first time.

The Senate resolution adopted today says that the draft law, in light of numerous and serious faults, requires a re-elaboration by the new government.

The Senate also issued a statement on the 21st anniversary of the intervention of Warsaw Treaty armies in Czechoslovakia.

Statement by Senate Economic Committee

Witold Trzeciakowski, the chairman of the Senate National Economy Committee issued a statement at the outset of the debates. He stressed that the committee intended to cooperate with the government both as regards the budget and other economic matters.

This is because we are aware of the gravity of the country's economic situation, Trzeciakowski said, adding: The electorate expects us to first of all improve the functioning of the economy and the implementation of a program of overcoming the crisis and not focusing on the mainstream of settling accounts.

We do not intend to hamper the new government's normal functioning but at the same time we cannot accept the continuation of a policy winding up an inflation and wage spiral, and a trend towards hyperinflation, the senator said.

One should not identify the democratization of the system with its slackness. Only full marshalling of the budget can create conditions for useful cooperation between the opposition and the government, Trzeciakowski said.

Opinion on Gov't Draft Budget Law

Presenting an opinion on the government draft amendments to the Budget Law for this year, senator-rapporteur Cezary Jozefiak stressed the importance of the debate on this document. This is because it is a reflection of the economic and social policy of the government as well as of the management of public means.

Analyzing the causes of a deep collapse of the State Budget in the first half of this year presented by the government, the senator deemed this to be only a description of events and not the causes of this state of affairs.

Concluding, Jozefiak stated that the financial system in the economy was in disarray and one of the main causes of this was that the government pursued a wrong concept of systemic changes.

Pointing to the effects of these activities, the senator stated that they caused a considerable fall in the effectiveness of the government's tools of economic policy which were intended to harmonize economic processes and upgrade effectiveness, particularly in enterprises.

In his view, the government displayed ineptness and sluggishness in the price policy as well as in preventing incomes from surpassing budgetary expenditures. He proposed to negatively recommend the draft law to the Sejm and to search for emergency solutions.

Discussion

Senator Jerzy Dietl presented comments on the proposed amendments to the Budget Law. In his opinion the draft amendments should receive a decisively negative evaluation.

Senator Aleksander Paszynski postulated to halt all investment projects and foreign debt repayment, while notifying the creditors about Poland's dramatic financial situation.

Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski proposed to introduce a valorization mechanism to the Budget Law which would empower the government—within the framework determined by parliament—to have the

budget take into account the changes caused by inflationary processes. Taking issue with one of his predecessors, Stelmachowski stated that halting all investment projects would be harmful just as suspending foreign debt repayment.

The Human Rights and Law Abidingness Committee tried to opine the Budget Law in its part pertaining to the administration of justice, General Prosecutor's Office and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, stated the committee's chairman, Senator Zbigniew Romaszewski.

However, this attempt failed because—as the senator put it—it is not quite known what percentage of the state budget is involved. Only after a fundamental reform of the Internal Affairs Ministry, the committee will be able to opine its budget, Romaszewski said.

Senator Wlodzimierz Bojarski proposed that the report on the execution of the Budget Law for the first half of this year be evaluated by the Sejm special commission and the draft amendments to the Budget Law for the second half of the year be already presented by the new government.

Taking the floor for the second time, Senator Jerzy Dietl proposed several changes in the draft amendments to the Budget Law for this year. They concern: Limiting expenditures in public security sector, departing from unwarranted tax holidays and exemptions for state enterprises as well as full openness of the budgets of the Ministry of National Defence and Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Senator Zdzislaw Nowicki said that the government draft amendments to the budget did not change anything in the financial practice pursued by the state for years. He pointed out that the proposals contained in the draft of increasing the price of gasoline up to 550 zloties per litre as of October 1, increasing the exchange rate of the dollar to the Polish zloty, interest rates, shipment fares as well as a 100 percent increase in the price of fodder or 50 percent increase in the price of fertilizers and plant protection chemicals for agriculture would only deepen inflationary phenomena, practically leading to hyperinflation.

Finance Minister's Address

Referring to some issues touched upon in the discussion, Finance Minister Andrzej Wroblewski pointed to the conditions in which the government pursued its economic policy this year. Accepting accusation that budgetary expenditures significantly exceeded incomes, he stated that this stemmed first and foremost from an increase of subsidies for food and coal. Changes in procurement prices also had an impact on this. But could one not have taken decisions to increase subsidies taking into account the social consequences of these changes?, the minister asked.

Taking issue with the proposals to limit the scope of financial investments from the budget, the minister stressed that from the overall sum of 142 billion zloties earmarked for this goal in the budget, the greater part—131 billion zloties—is directed to civilian undertakings. The majority of projects being continued or to be started this year concern the food industry, considerable sums are spent on investments in the field of health and natural environment protection and the municipal economy. If we are therefore speaking about limiting investment in the budgetary sphere then we must be aware of the consequences of such action, the finance minister stated.

Senator Cezary Jozefiak referred to several matters touched upon by the minister of finance. The minister put a question: Could we have liberalized prices while limiting subsidies? This would mean that what happened had to happen. One cannot agree with such a formulation, the senator said, expressing a conviction that the financial policy, the whole economic policy got out of the government's control and became the object of nervous decisions.

Referring to another matter, the senator said that he could not understand why with such a big budget deficit the government did not forward any legislative initiative which would permit the sale of national assets.

Senate's Stance on Draft Amendments

The stance on the draft amendments to the budget law for 1989 and draft amendments to other laws passed by the Senate reads that the initiative of the government to amend the budget law forwarded several months after the adoption of the currently binding one is the consequence of the catastrophic deterioration of the financial situation of the state which has led to a budget deficit exceeding four times the level admissible under the law.

The Senate assesses the government explanations of the causes of this state of affairs as incomplete and unilateral. In its opinion the key role in disregulating the economy was played by mistakes, sluggishness and neglect on the part of the government and its respective agencies.

The Senate thus stated in its stance that the draft amendments to the state budget for this year, in light of such numerous and serious faults, require a re-elaboration by a newly formed government. The chamber asked the Sejm Special Commission to make the members of the government and the president of the NBP National Bank of Poland accountable before the tribunal of state for breaching the budget law.

Statement on Intervention in Czechoslovakia

A draft statement on the 21st anniversary of the intervention of Warsaw Treaty troops in Czechoslovakia—proposed to the Senate by the Presidium of the OKP

[Citizen's Parliamentary Club] citizens parliamentary floor group—was read out during today's debates. The chamber passed this statement unanimously. Following is the text of the document:

The Senate of Poland sends fraternal greetings and expressions of respect to the nations of Czechs and Slovaks.

In connection with the upcoming twenty first anniversary of the intervention of Warsaw Treaty Armies, with the participation of the Polish Army, in Czechoslovakia, the Senate of Poland deems as its obligation to issue the following statement:

This intervention was a violation of the inviolable right of every nation to self-determination and a natural striving for democracy, freedom and respect of human rights.

The entry of armed forces into Czechoslovakia took place against the will of Polish society. The Senate deems it right to express sorrow and regret and at the same time condemns the aggression of 1968 which moved back the process of democratization in Czechoslovakia.

We wish the movement of democratic renewal in Czechoslovakia strength and success in work for the good of the fatherland and we wish its nations freedom and sovereignty within the framework of a fully democratic state.

Free Motions

Vice Speaker Andrzej Wielowieyski announced that Senator Jan Kozlowski tabled a draft appeal to the Senate calling on the nations and states which took part in World War Two to consider as a crime the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact signed 50 years ago. In line with the decision of the senators, the draft appeal was forwarded to the Senate Presidium.

Committee Chief on Internal Affairs Ministry
LD1208104789 Warsaw PAP in English
0208 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 11—After today's session of the Senate Committee for Human Rights and Law-Abidingness, its chairman Zbigniew Romaszewski stated in part:

The conclusions are as follows: As concerns the Ministry of Internal Affairs, our committee will not be able to issue a positive opinion on the budget of that ministry because it has a very wide scope of activity in very many domains a part of which is fully approved by society and is necessary for society, whereas the remaining part is equally strongly or even more strongly disapproved by society.

Thus, one should look at the problems of that ministry in the context of these social attitudes. The matter is really urgent as we are actually facing the problem of crime's growth. And that is why I think that a general reform of the Ministry of Internal Affairs leading first of all to separating it from politics is the basic thing in the current period, Romaszewski said.

Orzechowski on Work of Parliamentary Clubs
AU1108140589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
9 Aug 89 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "The Chairman of the PZPR Deputies Club Speaks"]

[Text] A month has elapsed since the appointment of the parliamentary deputies club. How do the chairmen of these clubs view this period? That is the subject of a poll by the POLISH PRESS AGENCY. Professor Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and chairman of the PZPR Deputies Club, says:

"I think this period can be assessed in positive terms. We have all embarked upon a long, tough road that is beset with many dangers, but a road that is leading straight to parliamentary democracy. The role of the political parties along this road has been precisely defined. It is a role not of power, not of 'supervision' or 'control,' but a role of an ideological and political force whose basic purpose is to mobilize the electorate and win society's confidence in the authorities and government. All the party is doing is struggling for the attainment and preservation of authority. The party is ceasing to be a ruling or "government" party. It is becoming a political party, that is all. State decisions are being transferred to constitutional bodies like the president, parliament, or government. Personally, I welcome these changes. I see in them a chance that my party will become a genuine political and ideological force.

"The role of the PZPR Deputies Club is a 'novelty.' The Club no longer wants to be a passive executor of decisions by the party leadership. It does not intend to act according to directives and recommendations adopted in its absence. It wants to be a factor in creating a party programmatic line. It wants its voice to be heard during the making of decisions of fundamental importance to the party. The 13th Plenum approved such a role for the Club.

"According to the party statute, the Central Committee is the highest party authority between congresses. The work of the PZPR Deputies Club is also supervised by the Central Committee, for there can be only one leadership body in each party.

[Question] Professor, the Sejm has held two important votes. The first vote was for whether or not General Kiszczak should be premier. The PZPR Deputies Club and the coalition parties carried through this vote with a

clear majority. The second vote was for the appointment of a parliamentary commission to assess the Rakowski government's work record. What can you say about these two votes?

[Orzechowski] Every parliament anywhere in the world has the right to assess the work of the government and its premier and ministers. That is the undeniable right of a parliament, otherwise it would not be a parliament. However, I do not like the climate in which the commission was created. The issue was dominated by biased opinions. A final assessment of the Rakowski government was adopted in advance before the commission had even been formed.

"Millions of Poles have heard about that Sejm debate. The question is, will these millions of Poles ever see the final document that the commission adopts. Guided by good will and a desire to achieve an objective assessment, my PZPR Deputies Club said: Yes, we are ready to vote for this commission, assuming that the avalanche of accusations and categorical assessments is halted. That was a political signal given by the club.

"However, the signal was misconstrued. It did not even reach those to whom it was addressed. In fact, not a single objective argument put forth by deputies, including from our club, was taken into consideration. That led to the withdrawal of our original support for the formation of an extraordinary commission. A political verdict was issued in advance. However, in the end, the motion to appoint the commission was carried. We have now joined the commission.

"We will see to it that the work of this commission is as objective as possible and that the truth prevails."

Sejm Speaker on Government Formation Prospects
LD1008010289 Warsaw PAP in English
2348 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 9—Sejm speaker Prof. Mikolaj Kozakiewicz told Polish television that the candidature of Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak was the third successive candidature for premier.

The first person to whom President Wojciech Jaruzelski proposed to head the government was Prof. Wladyslaw Baka, the second—President of the UPP CC [United Peasants Party Central Committee] Roman Malinowski. Both turned the offer down, mainly because the government which was to be formed was a government of a small and not a grand coalition. They thought that effective action could take place only within the framework of a grand coalition. Because the opposition side rejected this concept, both resigned.

Referring to Lech Walesa's most recent statement, Kozakiewicz stated: The premier will most likely present the first candidates for ministers to be opined by Sejm

committees this week and the Sejm will hold a meeting in the nearest future during which it will decide whether it will adopt the premier's program and the composition of the cabinet.

The statement could bear impact on the course of the consultations, opining in the Sejm commissions, can influence the outcome of voting on the composition of the cabinet which Premier Kiszczak will propose. I think that this was the chief goal of this statement. This does not have any impact on the very process of setting up a government, Kozakiewicz stated.

Asked whether there was a possibility of a government based on a coalition between Solidarnosc, the UPP and the DP [Democratic Party] in the future, the Sejm speaker replied:

When we spoke of a grand coalition, the coalition side was thinking about such a government in which representatives of the opposition, the DP, UPP and PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] would hold posts of vice premiers and ministers. What Lech Walesa proposed is of course another grand coalition, that is a coalition excluding the PUWP. One could ask whether eliminating the PUWP would not be a violation of the arrangements of the "round table."

Personally, as the Sejm Speaker, I see a possibility that following the possible conclusion of the mission of Premier Kiszczak's government, during a successive change of government, which one cannot rule out, new negotiations could be started in the future. In their framework, something could surface which would be similar to what the coalition understands as a grand coalition in which all parties would be represented.

It is known that there are certain ministries which are extremely sensitive, extremely important for the country's defence, for our allies, for our military, economic and other obligations. If they were not filled in by representatives of the workers party, this could create very much trouble and many threats both for processes taking place in our country which per saldo [as received] all of us assess positively despite difficulties, as well as for processes which take place or could possibly take place in other countries.

And precisely in this future sense and not in the aspect of this government which is being formed currently, Lech Walesa's statement is extremely important and calls for immense wisdom on the part of all political forces determining Poland's future.

Gdansk Demonstrations Protest Berlin Wall
LD1308192289 Warsaw PAP in English
1810 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 13—Noisy demonstrations were staged in downtown Gdansk this morning. After a mass at St Brygida Church activists of Fighting Solidarity organized a short rally with anti-communist and anti-state slogans.

Next they moved to a press printing-house whose crew has been on strike over pay since August 10. It was there that they staged another rally and demanded free trade unions, suggesting that the independent self-governed trade union Solidarity is dependent on the authorities and elites.

Another rally was held in the vicinity of the seat of the PUWP [PZPR] Polish United Workers Party voivodship committee here. It was joined by activists of the so-called Alternative Society Movement who had earlier staged a happening mottoed "World Without Frontiers" on Długa Street here in protest against the Berlin Wall. Law enforcement forces did not intervene.

DPA Reports Further
LD1308134389 Hamburg DPA in German
1244 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Alternative youth groups today staged a demonstration in Gdansk on the anniversary of the construction of the Berlin Wall. A group of young people held cardboard boxes in front of themselves and thus formed a "wall" across the Langgasse (Ulica Długa). Some of the young people played at being national policemen and fended off another group of "demonstrators" who wanted to penetrate the "wall" with cries of "Long live Honecker," "Honecker lives eternally."

This was ironically accompanied by the motto: "The Berlin Wall is a wall of friendship." The street theater, which was staged by more than 20 young people, ended with the "demonstrators" overcoming the wall. This was accompanied by shouts of: "A passport for everyone today. Tomorrow the wall must fall."

Enterprises Stage Warning Strike in Gdansk
LD1108164589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1600 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] In accordance with the announcement earlier, many work enterprises in Gdansk Voivodship today staged a 1-hour warning strike, proclaimed by the Provisional Regional Board [TZR] of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity and supported by unionists combined in the National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ]. Among the postulates put forward were demands for realistic compensation payments, smashing the procurement and distortion monopoly for agricultural crops, an end to financing political, union, and other organizations by work enterprises, liquidation of the nomenklatura and fictional companies, and also acceleration of elections to People's Councils that would be based on a democratic electoral law. By contrast with the Repair Shipyard, the workforce of the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard did not break off work.

Walesa Meets Shipyard Workers

*LD1108204789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2000 GMT 11 Aug 89*

[Text] A 1-hour warning strike, in the background of which were slogans of a political and economic nature, took place in many work enterprises in Gdansk this afternoon. Lech Walesa met the work force of the Paris Commune shipyard at a short rally. Commenting on the current situation in Poland, he drew attention to the fact that economic reforms were not keeping up with political ones. In his opinion, this will restrict the possibilities of activity in the purely trade union sphere.

The warning strike was not clearly visible on the streets of the Tricity. Most shops worked normally. Neither were there any significant disruptions in municipal transport.

AFP Reports on Strike

*AU1108140889 Paris AFP in English
1345 GMT 11 Aug 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 11 (AFP)—Thousands of workers at hundreds of enterprises in northern Poland's Gdansk region staged a one-hour warning strike Friday against the high cost of living, local trade unionists said. Workers at the Paris Commune naval shipyards, which employs 7,000, and the Radoub shipyard, which has 4,000 staff, downed tools.

Public transportation workers and staff at many medium and small firms joined the stoppage, called by Solidarity's national leadership. Union sources said the strike was aimed at high prices, which have skyrocketed by up to 300 per cent since a scheme to liberalize farming and food markets went into effect a fortnight ago, as well as the government's slowness in implementing economic restructuring reforms.

More Strikes Planned in Gdansk for 16, 18 Aug

*LD1208084989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0500 GMT 12 Aug 89*

[Excerpts] There has been a 1-hour warning strike in Gdansk Voivodship, proclaimed by the Interim Regional Board (TZR) of NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity. The strike was accompanied by economic and political demands. Jerzy Kowalski is at the microphone.

[Kowalski] Details are usually interesting, but really, the important thing will be the consequences. Gdansk Region Solidarity, supported by the local branch of the National Trade Union Confederation, has begun a warning campaign. Further actions are planned, on 16 and 18 August, to get well prepared for a general strike. [passage omitted]

In Poland last year, we had more than 4,500 suicides. Here we are dealing with economically suicidal ideas on a considerably greater scale. Strikes will utterly destroy the remnants of society's economic awareness. How then will we manage to recreate anything?

Chelm Voivodship Strike Situation Outlined

*LD1108202989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 11 Aug 89*

[Text] Protest actions took place today in several dozen plants and production enterprises in Chelm and in Chelm Voivodship. Strikes are continuing in several [as heard]. The most serious situation is in the municipal transport enterprise [MZK], where a drivers' strike has been going on since yesterday. They are demanding an increase in hourly rates from Z520 to Z700. As Chelm deputy mayor Ryszard Blinczuk informed us, by virtue of the enterprise's economic possibilities, the fulfillment of these demands is impossible.

Today, two municipal bus routes are running in Chelm. Talks are continuing so as to start up further routes beginning tomorrow, utilizing work buses and tour coaches. It could be that buses from other voivodships will run in Chelm. Financial postulates were also at the root of the protest actions in the municipal [word indistinct] enterprise in Chelm, the PKWN [expansion unknown] shoe enterprise, and at post offices.

Good sense and the good of the inhabitants triumphed in the strike of drivers and technical services in the Pulawy MZK which had been going on since Monday. Both sides found a compromise and today municipal transport in Pulawy is functioning normally.

Marceli Nowotko Steelworks Strike Ends 10 Aug

*LD1108142489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1200 GMT 11 Aug 89*

[Text] A protest strike by the 15,000-strong work force began at the Marceli Nowotko Steelworks in Ostrow Swietokrzyski Monday [7 August]. The talks with the director, conducted by the Solidarity Strike Committee, were fruitless. The disputes concerned the level of pay increases demanded by the strikers. Director Adam Sniadowski stated that fulfilling the work force's demands could lead to the steelworks' bankruptcy. According to the employees, however, the matter should have been resolved at government level, since it wasn't the pay increases which would ruin the steelworks, but the profit tax taken for the state budget. However, after the next round of talks, conducted last night, the commission announced the end of the strike at 0600 and an agreement was signed before 0900 [0700 GMT].

The Employees' Council passed a vote of no confidence on the director, as a consequence of which the director submitted his resignation. A competition for a new

steelworks director has already been announced. As for the main cause of the strike—pay issues—the dispute ended with mutual concessions.

Road Maintenance Workers To Strike 17 Aug

*LD1108154689 Zielona Gora Domestic Service
in Polish 1400 GMT 11 Aug 89*

[Text] Workers' protests continue. This time wage increases are being demanded by road maintenance workers. The main means of pressure in this case will be the blockage of roads. We have received a communique from the strike committee in Nowa Sol, that also includes protestors in Zary, Swiebodzin, and Zielona Gora. The road workers have announced the blockage of various transport routes beginning on 17 August, even international ones. Over the first few days, the interruptions in traffic will be 2 hours long, then 4 hours long. And after 26 August, they will last from 0700 to 1500. The blockade will not apply to ambulances and the fire brigade.

Postal Workers in Lublin Strike Over Pay

*LD1108204289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2000 GMT 11 Aug 89*

[Text] Some postal units in the Lublin Voivodship have started striking. The strikers are demanding pay increases of 60,000 zloties. However, the strike of Tarnow postal workers, which lasted 3 days, has ended. An agreement was signed and postal employees gave an obligation to make up the losses which have occurred during 2 free days, Saturday and Monday.

Strikes Continue in Lodz, Chorzow

*LD1208145189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 12 Aug 89*

[Text] Strikes are continuing in many towns. In Piotrkow Trybunalski, post office employees are protesting. Spolem state consumer cooperative bakers have submitted demands concerning pay increases and gave the cooperative a week to look into them. If there is a refusal the Piotrkow bakers are planning a strike. The strike at the Hortensja glassworks is over.

In Lodz, postal workers and PKP [Polish state railroads] workers are protesting. The latter action consists of hanging banners, placards, and flags at the Lodz-Kaliska railway station.

Employees of the Hajduki chemical works in Chorzow are on strike. Negotiations are in progress between management and workers.

Minister Appeals to Post Workers

*LD1208173189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 12 Aug 89*

[Text] Janusz Kaminski, the minister of transport, shipping and communications, has called on striking employees of the state Polish Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Services organization to end their strike action and to immediately begin fulfilling their legislative duties. In a communique submitted to PAP, Minister Kaminski reports that despite the agreement signed on 7 August concerning an increase in pay, strike action, including sit-in strikes, is continuing in certain organization units of the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Services, among other places in Lodz and Piotrkow Trybunalski. This signifies not only disorders in providing services to the public, but also has a negative effect on the functioning of the national economy and the state.

PAP Updates Situation; Some Strikes End

*LD1208201289 Warsaw PAP in English
1915 GMT 12 Aug 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 12—Some strikes ended today: After the management agreed to the most important wage postulates, transport workers supplying shops in Czestochowa with food resumed work. Also, working crew of the fruit-and-vegetable processing plant in Trzebielin in the Slupsk Voivodship resumed work.

The Hortensja steel mill in Piotrkow Trybunalski will start normal work on Wednesday August 16, while employees of the post and telecommunications office in Piotrkow Trybunalski did not reach agreement.

A strike action is under way at the transport enterprise of domestic trade in Krakow. Working crews of the press photo printing factory in Gdansk have been on strike since August 10. Successive attempts to start talks made by the management have not brought any results.

The executive secretariat of the national board of the unions of employees of the Polish printing industry issued a statement saying that coalition and opposition elites were now waging a political battle to consolidate or take over power and that this was taking place at the expense of society exhausted by everyday struggle for existence.

The minister of transport, shipping and communications Janusz Kaminski called on striking employees of post offices in Lodz and Piotrkow Trybunalski to stop their protest actions.

Solidarity Representatives Meet in Grodziec Mine

*LD1208014889 Warsaw PAP in English
2236 GMT 11 Aug 89*

[Text] Katowice, Aug 11—According to a report by the press office of the Slask-Dabrowa Region of "Solidarity" here, members of "Solidarity" in the region met at the

"Grodziec" coal mine in Bedzin-Grodziec near here today without the knowledge of the Regional Executive Committee of the Slask-Dabrowa Region. The meeting was attended by some 50 representatives of 20 enterprises in the area.

The meeting's agenda included a report from the meeting in Szczecin of representatives of splinter structures of "Solidarity" as well as discussion on the situation in enterprises of the region, the latter being particularly a pretext for sharp and unrefined attacks (also personal ones) against the Slask-Dabrowa Regional Executive Committee, National Executive Committee and Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group including Lech Walesa.

During the 3.5-hour-long meeting those present repeatedly declared their sympathy towards the Szczecin agreement for democratic elections in the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] "Solidarity" speaking for holding them as soon as possible.

By the end of the meeting, when only half of the attendants were present in the hall, a series of resolutions were passed in which the Szczecin national agreement for democratic elections in the NSZZ "Solidarity" as well as "all interested and hitherto absent enterprise structures" (from and from outside the region) were invited to a joint meeting on the nearest fixed date.

Solidarity Strike Difficulties Described

LD1208095989 London THE TIMES in English
12 Aug 89 p 6

[By THE TIMES Warsaw correspondent Roger Boyes]

[Excerpts] Strikes in Poland yesterday brought to a standstill the shipyards of the Gdansk region, many post offices and telephone exchanges, bus depots and a newspaper.

The unrest is aimed partly at forcing the Government's hand and partly to support pay demands to compensate for steep price rises. At the time of three-figure inflation, acute shortages and a political vacuum, the unrest is aggravating an already serious crisis. [passage omitted]

Mr Lech Walesa, the Solidarity leader, denounced the Communist Party's policies, and said that the attempts of Mr Czeslaw Kiszczak, the new Prime Minister, to form a government were almost certainly doomed. [passage omitted]

When the Warsaw branch of Solidarity this week called a meeting of 1,300 factory committees to decide on a coordinated political strike, only 300 turned up, and some Solidarity branches have complained that the spontaneous unrest benefits mainly workers at bigger factories, and are demanding that strikes, whether political or economic should be properly planned.

Underlining the point, Polish printers yesterday demanded pay rises of 150 percent for manual workers and 100 per cent for white-collar workers. As a result of their strike action, no newspaper appeared yesterday in the Gdansk region. [passage omitted]

Food Prices Quoted; Demand Remains High

LD1208122289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 12 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] It's not hard to guess what interests us most at the moment, what we are worried about and talking about. Here are two headlines selected at random from the front page of DZIENNIK LUDOWY: Pay Demands and Protest Actions; and Will There Be More Sausage? Our first report concerns the food market:

[Unidentified correspondent] In Katowice, a kilogram of pork roast costs 6,000 zloties; a shoulder: 5,600; boned beef: 5,280; torun sausage: 3,600; ham: 7,200; frankfurters: 1,440 zloties. [sentence indistinct] On the dairy produce market, the price of milk with 3.2 percent fat content stands out: 273 zloties. The prices quoted apply to state shops.

In Szczecin despite the high prices, the shelves continue to be emptied. Long before opening times, lines form outside meat shops, and the deliveries of meat and smoked meats are enough for only the first few dozen people. Here are the prices in Szczecin: pork roast: 5,500 zloties, but also for [price indistinct]; pork loin filet: 7,700; hotdogs: 950 zloties. An increase in the prices of meat and meat products was announced to take effect Wednesday in Szczecin's shops. Articles like flour, pasta, sugar, and groats are still a rarity in this port city.

About procurement prices: In Skierniewice Voivodship at the meat plant in Rawa Mazowiecka, they pay 1,600 zloties per kg for first class pork for slaughter; for first class beef for slaughter: 1,630. In other peasant self-help cooperatives in the voivodship, they pay the farmers more: from 1,700 to 1,800 per kg for meat for slaughter.

After the procurement price for grain was raised to 11,000 for rye and 13,500 for wheat [per 100kg], the farmers supplied it in considerably greater quantities to buying points.

[Announcer] In these conditions, no wonder there are difficulties in forming a new government.

Mention of Polish Issues at Soviet News Briefing

LD1108182889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] A news conference has taken place in the Soviet Foreign Ministry. A representative of the Foreign Ministry, Vadim Perilyev, said: Attempts to exploit the process of forming a Government in Poland in order to disrupt the stabilization of the situation there—to harm Poland's alliance obligations, including in relation to the

Warsaw Treaty, and to harm Soviet-Polish cooperation—will not facilitate stabilization in Europe. He also added that numerous commentaries are appearing in the Soviet press on this subject. Not all publications are presenting official positions. As is known, the chairman of the Council of Ministers was elected by the Polish parliament. The formation of the government is an internal matter for Poles, said Vadim Perflyev.

Siwicki Receives Warsaw Pact's Lobov

LD0408214189 Warsaw PAP in English
1647 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 4—Minister of National Defence General Florian Siwicki received here today the visiting chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty General Vladimir Lobov.

The sides discussed prospects for the ongoing disarmament talks and issues of cooperation between the Polish Army and other allied armies, connected to the current activities of the Joint Armed Forces.

Lyon Archbishop on Macharski Statement

LD1108203689 Vatican City International Service
in Polish 1800 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Paris—Cardinal Albert Decourtray, archbishop of Lyon, published a communique concerning the Carmelite Convent in Oswiecim [Auschwitz], referring to the recent statement by Cardinal Franciszek Macharski:

The decisions taken in Geneva concerning the Carmelite Convent in Oswiecim will not be subject to discussion. The agreement binds those who signed it. I learned from a press dispatch, as did Cardinals Daneels and Lustiger, that Cardinal Macharski declared in a communique that the completion of the future center must be suspended due to the current climate. Demonstrations and regrettable reactions cannot be taken into account regarding a matter covered by the agreement of 22 February 1987. We will continue to do everything so that the dialogue, begun under with the agreement in Geneva, will be continued. We need mutual respect, so as not to harm the memory of Oswiecim.

That is the text of the communique in which Cardinal Decourtray, referring to press information, writes that Cardinal Macharski stated that the building of the future center must be suspended due to the present climate. Meanwhile, in his communique, Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, revealing this climate to be a violent campaign of accusations and slander, and in offensive aggression emanating from certain Western Jewish centers, writes, we quote:

This kind of attitude and action makes it impossible for me to continue further building on the center.

Aspects of Polish-EEC Trade Agreement Discussed

AU1408085889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
9 Aug 89 p 3

[Report signed 'BST': "The Success of the Polish Reforms Depends on the Commitment of All Poles"]

[Text] A trade and economic cooperation agreement between Poland and the EEC was initiated in Warsaw yesterday.

Poland was represented by Andrzej Olechowski, director of Department 2 of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation; and the EEC was represented by Pablo Benavides, director of the EEC Department of Foreign Relations. After the ceremony, there was a press conference at which the two negotiators answered numerous questions from Polish and foreign journalists.

After Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, Poland is the fourth socialist country to have concluded such an agreement with the EEC. However, in terms of the extent of the cooperation, Poland takes second place.

The cooperation covers two important aspects. The first one deals with pure trade, and concerns the present. It concerns mutual customs concessions for agricultural produce and the elimination of the restrictions on imports of Polish produce previously imposed by the EEC. In other words, the first point of the agreement is concerned with promoting mutual trade. The second aspect, dealing with economic cooperation, concerns the future. This cooperation will involve a broad range of sectors, from agriculture and industry, right up to scientific cooperation. The new agreement, which normalizes Polish-EEC trade relations and actually grants us most favored nation status, establishes preferential spheres of cooperation and the instruments whereby this cooperation will be developed.

Director Olechowski said that as far as this second aspect is concerned, we are very pleased with the provision whereby structural changes in Poland are one of the objectives of this economic cooperation, for this serves as a legal basis, as it were, on which the EEC can support our process of restructuring. The agreement also removes the formal obstacles to the establishment of scientific contacts with Poland by EEC scientists, scientific centers, and economic units.

Asked about the possibility of greater aid for Poland, Pablo Benavides replied that the purpose of the present Polish visit by the EEC delegation was also to examine the possibilities of rapid economic aid. The community realizes that Poland's needs, for example concerning meat, are beyond the EEC's present capabilities. There are not enough resources to permit a greater level of aid than the one we have agreed. We have in mind not just immediate aid, but future aid as well. We are convinced that the transformations and reforms in Poland should be supported by the EEC, even though the reforms are a

long process and require great efforts from Polish society. We think the success of the reforms depends on the commitment of all Poles. We support that.

The 24 countries currently committed to aid for Poland attach great importance to the Polish economic reforms. They are also determined to support the efforts of Poles in this sphere.

Article Comments on Changes in Criminal Law
AU1408110789 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY
in Polish 30 Jul 89 p 7

[Zofia Radzikowska article: "A Step in the Right Direction—Changes Made To the Law By the Last Session of the Ninth Sejm"]

[Text] As we are caught up by the emotions of the newly elected parliament preparing for its work, it is worth pausing to consider the last changes made to the legal system by the Ninth Sejm which relate to the relaxation of the repressive nature of the criminal law and the expansion of the safeguards and liberties of the individual citizen. It is worth doing this to compare the actual changes adopted with the demands put forward by the "Solidarity"-opposition side at the "roundtable" and to see what still remains to be done in this sphere by the new deputies and senators.

In the "roundtable" Subteam on the Reform of the Law and the Courts, the "Solidarity"-opposition side proposed several changes to the criminal code, the criminal proceedings code, and the minor offenses code. It also proposed a new statute regulating the office of the minister of internal affairs and the powers of organs subordinate to his ministry (including executive orders). The government-coalition side was willing to accept only a few of these proposals, and thus a joint initiative of introducing a broad amending statute in the sphere of criminal law became impossible, and most of the proposals found themselves in the joint protocol of differences. In spite of this, on 29 May the government presented to the Sejm on its last day of session several bills which were passed at that session and which go some, if not all the way, toward meeting the "Solidarity" proposals.

In the field of substantive criminal law, it was proposed to completely repeal 11 sections from the criminal code, reclassify three misdemeanors as minor offenses, change the content of the next five sections, make the punishability of acts against the interests of allied states dependent on the principle of the reciprocity of prosecution, and repeal five sections from the minor-offenses code. The enactments of 29 May 1989 alter some provisions of the criminal law, the minor-offenses law, and other enactments (see OFFICIAL GAZETTE number 34), and have repealed section 282a, a sad relic of the martial law period, which aimed at actions causing public disorders or protest actions; section 287—"any person who manufactures or is in the possession of a radio transmitter

without the necessary authority"—has been reclassified as a minor-offense; section 276 subsection 1, has been amended and now reads: "who associates himself with others with the aim of committing an offense which is punishable by a sentence of 12 or more months imprisonment", and similarly, section 282, which now provides a penalty for public incitement to disobedience or forcible resistance to a statute or other legal disposition by a state body (this provision is also a minor-offense). The principle of reciprocity of prosecution has been introduced in all the originally proposed sections, namely 129, 133, 284, and 285 of the criminal code. There is only one, but a very important, change in the minor-offenses code, that is to say, a radical amendment to the infamous section 52a introduced in 1986, purportedly as a sign of relaxation, but in reality as a new instrument of repression, which permitted, among other things, the confiscation of motor vehicles used in unlawful distribution of material. This section now reads: "who, 1) publicly incites the commission of a crime or publicly praises such action, or 2) publicly incites disobedience of or forcible resistance to a statute or any lawful disposition of a state body, if the act or its results are not in themselves significant, is liable to arrest, restriction of freedom, or a fine." As regards minor-offenses, there has been a significant change in the minor-offenses proceedings code which now abolishes the immediate enforceability of invalid judicial decisions in accelerated proceedings (see changes in section 73 subsections 4, 6, and 108).

The 29 May statute has more important changes in the criminal proceedings code and changes related to detention and custody pending trial. As for detention, section 206 of the criminal proceedings code has been amended by additional wording stating that the time of and the reason for the detention must be written down and given to the suspect, who also has to be informed of his right to lodge an appeal against his detention with the court. At the request of the suspect, any person who is related to the suspect or any other person who is nominated by him must be promptly notified of the detention. A new provision has been introduced in section 207a, which provides that the suspect has the right to appeal against detention to the district court in whose area the detention occurs. The court must hear the appeal without delay. Where the court holds that the detention is without cause, it must order the immediate release of the suspect and must inform the authority responsible for the agency that performed the arrest. In cases of wrongful detention, arrest, or conviction (section 487 subsection 4) there is the right to compensation, which lapses after 3 months from the date of release. All these rights of suspects are contained in the provisions of The Minister of Internal Affairs Act 1983. These amendments are in line with the proposals put forward by the "Solidarity"-opposition side, which also suggested that in cases of detention, the maximum time ought to be no more than 24 hours, the suspect should have the right to contact his defense attorney, and where detention is deemed to have been without cause, there should be a

statutory duty of initiating disciplinary proceedings against the person responsible for the detention and notification of the court of the outcome of such proceedings.

As regards temporary custody, it can only be extended beyond 3 months with the court's permission (section 222 subsection 2), if, owing to the particular nature of the case, the preparatory inquiries have not been completed by that time. Custody pending investigations and trial can be extended for up to 1 year on the application of the prosecutor to the competent court (the accused has a right to appeal against such decision). The Supreme Court on application from the prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic [PRL] in certain exceptionally justified cases can extend this period by a stated length of time to enable investigations to be completed. The suspect who has been detained has a right to communicate freely with his defense attorney, and the prosecutor can no longer withhold his consent to this (as was the case to date), but the prosecutor can insist on the prosecutor being present, or on being represented by a nominee at such meeting. There is a right to appeal against the prosecutor's presence. An important change has also been introduced in appeal proceedings. Section 383 now states that an appeals court cannot convict an accused who was previously acquitted by a court of first instance (until now this only applied to the Supreme Court), or where the court of first instance decided to terminate or conditionally discontinue the proceedings. Further, the Supreme Court cannot pass a sentence of death if that penalty has not been stated in the sentence passed by the court of first instance.

It needs to be stressed that in relation to the criminal proceedings code, many more changes were proposed, namely, that only a court could decide on temporary custody, the maximum period of such custody could only be 1 year, and that the "substantial threat of public danger" as one of the grounds for this type of arrest, should be repealed. Important changes were also proposed in minor-offenses proceedings. The changes which have been introduced were necessary and are to be welcomed. However, there is need for more changes. The 10th Sejm will, among other pressing business, have the task of fundamentally reforming the criminal law.

Apart from the changes in the criminal code enacted by the last Sejm in its closing session, that Sejm also made amendments to the press and censorship law, thus incorporating those points agreed by the "roundtable" Mass Media Subteam. These amendments (as those made to the criminal law) give cause for satisfaction as they were fought for in the columns of the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY (and by the author) for a very long time. In the law on the press, the most essential change is the complete abolition of the need to obtain approval for any publication activity, and a change to a registration system. Registration can be refused on the basis of section 21 only when the granting of permission would violate the provisions of the "press law," or the law relating to the protection of names of existing publications. Registrations requiring certain character attributes of the

editor-in-chief, the editorial board and its program line, or the enlargement or change of Press Council personnel, also reflect the agreement reached by the "roundtable" subteam. (The chairman of the Council of Ministers calls the Press Council for 3 years. This body is composed equally of people put forward by the journalist organizations—this opens up possibilities for the recently re-registered Association of Polish Journalists [SDP]—and equally of representatives of state organizations, the world of education, artistic circles, and political and social organizations). The criminal law provision of section 45 carries the penalty of a fine for the publication or the distribution of a newspaper, periodical, or any other publication which is registrable. Until now, such acts were punishable by fine or imprisonment. The offense was a misdemeanor and has now become a minor-offense. Section 48, which carried a penalty of a fine for not registering printing or copying equipment, has been abolished, and the necessity for the registration of such equipment has now disappeared. Internal memoranda, however, have not been excluded from the category of press items, nor have they been excluded from preliminary control in the statute amending the Control of Publications and Public Spectacles Act. Proposals to remove the amendments introduced in 1983 to the 1981 Act have been accepted. Section 2 gives the instances in which censorship can be applied, that is to say, instances which define what one may not do when publishing the written word. These provisions now say what they said in their original form, for example, section 2 subsection 1—threats to the independence and territorial integrity of the PRL; subsection 5—the disclosure of information which is a state secret, or an economic secret, or a military secret relating to the Armed Forces and their defensive capability; and subsection 6—incitement to break the law or the praise of such activity. Scientific publications have again been freed from preliminary inspection, as have re-prints of already published works in the PRL, bibliographies, and bibliographical data. A provision has been added that allows a person to bring in single copies of foreign publications and other materials which are included in the prohibited distribution list. This also applies to bringing in material by subscription from abroad. All these changes are a step in the right direction, a step that will lead to the complete abolition of preventative censorship. Other statutes were passed on 29 May, but these require separate comment.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 2-8 Aug AU1408094289

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 3 to 9 August reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date, page number of each report given in parentheses):

Leszek Miller, Zbigniew Michalek, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Marcin Swiecicki, and Slawomir Wiatr attended a conference of voivodship party committee secretaries on the subject of the pro-market orientation of the food industry on 4 August. (5-6 Aug 89 p 2)

President Wojciech Jaruzelski received Ambassador Stanislaw Pawlak, Poland's new permanent representative to the United Nations in New York, on 4 August. (5-6 Aug 89 p 2)

Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak received Senators Andrzej Wielowieyski and Witold Trzeciakowski on 4 August. (5-6 Aug 89 p 2) He received Zdzislaw Zambrzycki, chairman of the National Union of Farmers and Agricultural Circles and Cooperatives, on 8 August. (9 Aug 89 p 1)

Wlodzimierz Natorf, Central Committee secretary, held a meeting with party aktivs at the educational film studios in Lodz on 2 August. (3 Aug 89 p 2)

Slawomir Wiatr, Central Committee secretary, attended a meeting with party aktivs on the subject of the elections in Wodzislaw Slaski on 3 August. (4 Aug 89 p 3)

Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski received Danish ambassador Vagn Egebjerg, who has ended his mission in Poland, on 4 August. (5-6 Aug 89 p 2)

National Agriculture Council Plenum Ends
AU1108202889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1815 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Friday, August 11, the proceedings of an enlarged plenary meeting of the National Council of Agriculture, the Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management continued, attended by RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania.

As many as 440 participants took the floor in the debates in the plenum of this wide and representative forum and in its ten sections by domains of activity.

The plenum passed unanimously the documents in the agenda.

At the conclusion of proceedings President Nicolae Ceausescu made an ample speech followed with particular interest, full satisfaction and approval by the attendance.

Leadership Public Appearances for 5-11 Aug
AU1208165489

[Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 5-11 August period (sources of each report given in parentheses):

President Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a meeting of the Political Executive Committee (PEC) of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) on economic matters, in Bucharest on 4 August (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1737 GMT 4 Aug 89). On the same day, he received Mohammed Karim

Lamrani, director general of the Moroccan Phosphates Office (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1723 GMT 4 Aug 89). On 8 August, at Snagov resort, Ceausescu received Mwando Nsimba, Zaire's state commissioner for agriculture, (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1703 GMT 8 Aug 89) and Jozef Lenart, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1658 GMT 8 Aug 89). On 9 August, at Snagov resort, President Nicolae Ceausescu received departing Iraqi Ambassador Safa 'Salih al-Falakym (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1745 GMT 9 Aug 89), departing Sudanese Ambassador Ahmad Muhammad Dhiyab (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1746 GMT 9 Aug 89), and new Mongolian Ambassador Osoryn Ghenden (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 9 Aug 89). On 11 August, President Nicolae Ceausescu made a speech at the plenary meeting of the National Council for Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management, in Bucharest. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0844 GMT 11 Aug 89)

Stefan Andrei, candidate PEC member and deputy prime minister of the government, received Ahmad 'Ali Muhani, minister of oil of the Arab Republic of Yemen, in Bucharest on 7 August (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1735 GMT 7 Aug 89). On the same day, he received Mwando Nsimba, state commissioner for agriculture of the Republic of Zaire. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1730 GMT 7 Aug 89)

Vasile Barbulescu, secretary of the RCP Central Committee, addressed a plenary meeting of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, in Bucharest on 9 August. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1753 GMT 9 Aug 89)

Further on U.S. Senate Resolution on Paraga

Deemed 'Counterproductive'

AU1108150289 Belgrade RORBA in Serbo-Croatian
9 Aug 89 p 1

[Report by permanent correspondent Bogdan Decermic:
"Paraga Serving as a Screen"]

[Text] New York, 8 Aug—Late in the evening last Friday, [4 August] the last day and literally the last hour before the U.S. Congress' summer recess, the Senate passed a new resolution concerning human rights in Yugoslavia which "supported the efforts" made by a certain Dobroslov Paraga on "strengthening the protection of human rights in Yugoslavia." This most recent act adopted on Capitol Hill was aimed at harming Yugoslavia's reputation and the Yugoslav side will have to express its discontent, because the resolution represents what is so far the most direct interference in our country's internal affairs and, let us also say, has done harm to the relations between the two countries.

The main "hero" of the resolution is Dobroslov Paraga, a Yugoslav citizen who was sentenced in Zagreb in 1980 for hostile activity. After leaving prison, in 1986 Paraga sued for compensation for the "physical and mental torture he had been exposed to."

The Senate resolution apodictically claims that "the Zagreb court denied Paraga a honorable and just trial" when he demanded the compensation.

Along with Paraga, the resolution has mentioned another Yugoslav citizen, student Ernest Brajder, a "Croatian Jew," as the authors of the resolution have specified his ethnic affiliation, certainly with a definite intention. Brajder was arrested together with Paraga, allegedly because he had written a petition together with Paraga "against torture in Yugoslavia, but he died 3 days after being arrested, under mysterious circumstances," according to the State Department.

The resolution ends with four conclusions which are in fact, four demands. The first asks the Yugoslav Government to "guarantee basic rights and freedoms to its citizens." The second demand asks "the Yugoslav Government to proclaim unconditional amnesty for all political prisoners." The third conclusion pertains to Paraga himself and asks "the Yugoslav Government to withdraw its latest accusations against human rights activist Dobroslov Paraga and allow him and his family to return to their home in Croatia from where they had been expelled." Finally, the fourth conclusion calls on the Yugoslav Government to "initiate an investigation of the death of Ernest Brajder" and to "publicize its findings."

It happens very rarely that Congress deals with individual cases, so one cannot help noticing that the Senate attributed an importance to Paraga not normally attributed to "human rights activists" and certainly not to ones of Paraga's caliber. One also cannot help noticing that the case has been taken out of "moth balls" and aired. Of course, everything Paraga said was taken at face value. Therefore, it is said in the resolution that Paraga had been "expelled from Yugoslavia" and forbidden to return to "his home in Croatia." However, it is known that Paraga had left Yugoslavia on a valid passport and that nobody has forbidden him or his family to return to Yugoslavia.

One is surprised at the tone of resolution—as if what is involved here is a totalitarian state with a colonial mentality which should only be upbraided.

After all that has been happening in Yugoslavia in the process of further democratization and the further broadening of human rights and freedoms and even correcting past injustices, resolutions of this kind are completely unnecessary. Moreover, they are also counterproductive, because they both objectively and subjectively support disintegrational forces in Yugoslavia, forces that threaten the country's internal unity and want to break it apart.

The resolution was submitted by Democratic Senators Paul Simon and Alan Dickson [as published] from Michigan and extremely right-wing Republican Jesse Helms from North Carolina. This resolution has no legislative effect. Unlike the two previous amendments, it does not go to the President for signature, and is not being coordinated with the House of Representatives. Eyewitnesses say that it was really "slipped in through the back door" together with a host of other acts and voted for by a symbolic number of senators in an almost empty Senate chamber.

Whatever the case, the negative effect of the resolution on the Yugoslav-American relations is indisputable.

Protest to State Department

LD1108183489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1655 GMT 11 Aug 89

[Text] Washington, 11 Aug (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government has lodged an official protest in Washington in connection with the U.S. Senate resolution adopted a week ago on the Paraga case and the state of human rights in Yugoslavia.

Vladimir Matic, charge d'affaires at the Yugoslav Embassy in the United States, yesterday handed a strong protest to the State Department in which it is noted once again that the said resolution is based on untruths and represents a crude attempt at interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia.

It is reported that Matic conveyed the Yugoslav stance that this is an act without precedence in the relations between the two countries aimed against the sovereignty of the SFRY.

It is also stressed that the resolution contradicts U.S. statements with regard to Yugoslavia and a call is made for the U.S. Administration to make its stand known on the document.

The State Department, it is stressed, has received the protest and its representatives indicated that they were also concerned at such actions, which it was said, create misunderstandings and complicated bilateral relations.

They also admitted that statements in the resolution were untrue.

The State Department has repeated its usual assertion that this resolution does not reflect the common stance of the government and Congress.

As we know, the State Department did nothing following the warning from the SFRY ambassador that this resolution was being prepared in the Senate and his indication of the consequences of the adoption of such a document. Paraga has also been received at a high level in the U.S. State Department.

In reply to the Yugoslav protest it was also said that there is agreement in the U.S. Government that the situation with regard to human rights in Yugoslavia has been and is good, that our country has achieved progress in this area and in the process of democratization, and that, as it is stressed, it can be proud of what it has achieved.

It is not clear how these official assessments can differ to such an extent from the views and actions of individuals in Congress of late, and even less clear is how they can remain ineffectual.

On the Yugoslav side the expectation was also expressed that the State Department would convey its views to Congress, and it was said that this would be the best way of promoting future cooperation between the two countries.

Paraga Linked to Separatists

*LD1208154889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0953 GMT 12 Aug 89*

["'The Albanian Connection' of Dobrislav Paraga"—TANJUG headline; by TANJUG correspondent Dusan Zupan]

[Excerpts] Washington, 12 Aug (TANJUG)—Following a successful tour in the United States, where he was not only the guest of the State Department and certain political circles of the U.S. Congress, but also made the obligatory visit to Mate Mestrovic, Dobroslov Paraga has now returned to Canada. He continues to work

tirelessly for what is known here as the "struggle for human rights" in Yugoslavia, and has just been received in the provincial parliament of Ontario.

His stay in Toronto was reported by a New York radio station whose time was bought by a faction of Albanian separatists. Taking everything into consideration, it is not surprising that Albanian separatists are so carefully following Paraga's movements, since he is also working for their cause. Thus it was reported in this program that Paraga was "leading a group of Slovenes, Croats and Albanians" in the parliament, in order to acquaint local Canadian politicians with "violations of the human rights of Albanians" and the "real situation in Kosovo."

The alliance of all separatists aimed at dividing up Yugoslavia is nothing new. Pro-Ustashi emigres in the United States have already carried out joint activities with Albanian extremists on several occasions. Now, however, their patrons have clearly entered the alliance as well, which more readily explains why the so-called "Paraga case" has raised its ugly head recently in the U.S. Senate resolution.

After a series of more or less successful resolutions and amendments in connection with Kosovo which have appeared in the U.S. Congress since the beginning of the year, the whole situation in our country needed to be dramatized with examples from its other regions as well. Since such examples have of late been very difficult to find, the already forgotten Paraga had to be resurrected and has clearly been given one of the new roles of "unifier" of all separatists, at least if the Albanian emigre radio is anything to go by. The fact that plans for this unification are no empty claims or speculations are borne out by the example from the U.S. Congress, which, in adopting the famous resolution, also adopted at the same time as an official additional text a letter from a group of congressmen from the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives containing "additional information" relating to Paraga.

It says, in black and white, amongst other things: "Having received his passport, Paraga travelled in several Western countries and discussed the continuing violation of human rights in Yugoslavia. He provided members of Congress and their colleagues with specific information on the general situation in Yugoslavia, but especially on the repression surrounding the events in Kosovo at the beginning of this year." [passage omitted]

Concern for the truth, however, has not so far been characteristic of the sponsors of anti-Yugoslav documents in Congress, but it is astounding how certain political circles in Washington readily decide to believe the claims of one emigre and disregard information offered to them either by official Yugoslavia or even by their own diplomatic service.

In fact, attacks on Yugoslavia from Congress no longer come as a surprise, in view of their number of late and the content with which they operate. If what the State Department claims is true, and it has just been officially stated that Yugoslavia has made progress in the field of human rights and democratization, the only conclusion that can be drawn is that certain political circles here are using this popular world theme to encourage the present internal dissent in Yugoslavia, with the aim of dividing Yugoslavia.

Statements of support for the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia are one thing, but there are also those who clearly consider that now is the right time for the division of our country.

Protests Urging Dismissals Continue in Nevesinje
*LD1108110989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0747 GMT 11 Aug 89*

[Text] Nevesinje, 11 Aug (TANJUG)—Several hundred citizens of Nevesinje this morning continued their protest gathering outside the municipal assembly building, a protest which began yesterday during a session of all three of the assembly's chambers.

This morning they repeated yesterday's demands for unconditional resignations by the entire municipal leadership and a number of other officials, and for their immediate dismissal from their current functions.

Although the entire leadership of the municipal assembly of Nevesinje submitted its resignation about 10 days ago, a move that was not verified because of formal procedure and yesterday's interruption in the assembly's work, it is surprising that between early yesterday afternoon, when the citizens' protest gathering began, and this morning, not a single responsible organ in the municipality has held a session to consider the situation that has now arisen, nor has a single official addressed the gathered citizens. Nor have the leaderships of the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, the trade unions, the young people, or the veterans undertaken anything to establish contact with the citizens and work towards a slow legal and democratic resolution of the dramatic situation. For this reason, political and security conditions in Nevesinje have, since yesterday, been very difficult, with elements of chaos and anarchy.

Loncar Receives Romanian Deputy Minister
*LD1108204189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1721 GMT 11 Aug 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Aug (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, has received Constantin Oancea, Romanian deputy minister of foreign affairs, who is in Belgrade for regular consultations between the foreign ministries of the two countries. In

the talks with the federal secretary, and in the consultations conducted by Ilija Djukic, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, views were exchanged on bilateral relations and in particular the need was stressed for the promotion of economic cooperation, speedier solutions to ecological problems by means of a general agreement on environmental protection, and the further harmonious exploitation of the Djerdap hydroelectric power station, and so on.

The Yugoslav side particularly stressed its interests in the position and rights of our nations living as national minorities in the Socialist Republic of Romania, and in safeguarding their national identity and cultural heritage. To this end calls were made for the revival of the work of the mixed committee for the protection of cultural monuments and for studies to be carried out of those of interest for the history of the Serbian and Croatian peoples.

The two top officials briefed each other about the views of their countries on the development of the international situation, in particular the current trends in Europe, and about joint activities in the field of multilateral cooperation between the Balkan countries.

Assistant Federal Secretary Ilija Djukic briefed his collocator about the preparations for the upcoming non-aligned countries summit and the modernization of the movement with the aim of making its activity in current international processes more effective. The Romanian side gave a high appraisal of the global importance of the nonaligned countries movement and Yugoslavia's rule. Romania has had the observer status in the Nonaligned Movement for 15 years.

AGERPRES Reports Meeting
*AU1208172989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1445 GMT 12 Aug 89*

["Romanian-Yugoslav Consultations"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Belgrade AGERPRES, 12/8/1989—Consultations were held in Belgrade between the managements of Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Yugoslavia's Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. In keeping with the understandings and orientations covenanted at top level regarding the continuous expansion of the relations of friendship, collaboration and good neighbourliness between Romania and Yugoslavia, analysis was made of the stage of implementing the actions and stipulations in the bilateral documents, the expansion of economic ties, of cooperation in production and production specialization, of the collaboration in science, culture, education, tourism, on the line of mass and public organizations. Opinions were also exchanged on some current international issues.

Romania was represented by Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Yugoslavia—by Ilija Djukic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs.

On the occasion, Constantin Oancea was received by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs of the SFR of Yugoslavia.

Australia's Hawke Interviewed on Relations

*AU1008100789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
7 Aug 89 p 6*

[Report on interview with Robert Hawke, Australian prime minister, by BORBA's special correspondent Slobodan Pavlovic: "Friendship Has Not Been Broken"—date, place not given]

[Excerpt] At the very beginning of our conversation with Robert Hawke, Australia's Prime Minister, which was not only about Yugoslav-Australian relations, but also about the incidents that took place last year (the closure of the Yugoslav General Consulate in Sydney and the expulsion of diplomats from Belgrade), as well as about possible relaxation in relations, the prime minister of this distant country spoke about his two visits to Yugoslavia.

The first time he visited our country, he said, he came as the leader of the trade unions. In 1987 he visited it as Australia's prime minister.

Common Interests

"The success of my visit in October 1987 was the reflection of traditionally good relations between our two countries. Despite the incident in Sydney last year, the people of Australia and Yugoslavia have maintained close ties. Personal and family links among the immigrants are strong and they are firmly rooted in the large and respected Yugoslav community in Australia. Australians and Yugoslavs share many common interests in the political and ecological sphere. Australians hope that our two countries will continue to develop constructive and friendly relations.

"The Yugoslav General Consulate in Sydney," Prime Minister Hawke continued, "is still closed, but the Australian Government is currently considering the possibility of reopening it. Our government has granted permission to the SFRY Embassy in Canberra to make visits for consular purposes to the areas that used to be under the jurisdiction of the General Consulate in Sydney, simply because many Australians need consular services."

Otherwise, Australia has already announced that it will attend the ninth nonaligned summit in Belgrade. This will be the second time that this country will appear at the nonaligned summit as a guest, something that can certainly influence the course of bilateral relations between our two countries. Regarding this, Premier Hawke said:

"We are happy that we will attend the Belgrade summit as a guest. This summit will clearly mark an important stage in the development of nonaligned countries. As a guest, the Australian delegation will have the opportunity to learn about Yugoslavia's innovative approach to the Nonaligned Movement and its openness to a dialogue with other countries which are not members of the movement."

It is interesting that Australia is already preparing for relations with Europe after 1992, despite the fact that is a long way away from Europe. The Australian Prime Minister therefore spoke about the chances of non-EC countries, such as Australia and Yugoslavia, remaining outside the big European circle. [passage omitted]

Zaire Vice Prime Minister Arrives for Visit

Loncar Receives Nsimba

*LD1108133789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0928 GMT 11 Aug 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Aug (TANJUG)—Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar today received Zaire Vice Prime Minister Mwando Nsimba, who is on an official visit to Yugoslavia.

The main emphasis in the cordial and friendly talks was on agreements concerning the preparations for the forthcoming ninth summit of nonaligned countries in Belgrade.

A great degree of similarity was displayed in the views of Zaire and Yugoslavia concerning the concept of modernizing the Nonaligned Movement, and concerning the work of the summit itself.

In addition, Zaire gave full support to the concepts set out in the documents which Yugoslavia, as the host of the summit, is preparing for adoption.

Drnovsek, Nsimba Discuss Ties

*LD1108174589 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1615 GMT 11 Aug 89*

[Text] Brioni, August 11 (TANJUG)—International economic problems, particularly the question of debts and the need for underdeveloped countries to become a part of the international economic life more successfully, were among the subjects of talks conducted today between Presidency of Yugoslavia President Janez Drnovsek and Zaire Deputy Premier Mwando Nsimba who is on an official visit to Yugoslavia.

During the meeting on Brioni Janez Drnovsek described relations between Yugoslavia and Zaire as a model of successful cooperation and friendly partnership of developing countries.

Nsimba congratulated Yugoslavia on the way it organizes the non-aligned summit in Belgrade next September.

During a summit with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar today in Belgrade Mwando Nsimba stated a full support to the concept of documents which Yugoslavia, as the summit host, is preparing for adoption.

Loncar and Nsimba stated that Yugoslavia and Zaire have similar views on the concept of streamlining the movement of non-alignment and the work of the non-aligned summit itself.

Secretary Korosec Comments on LCY's Work
LD1308132589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0021 GMT 13 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Aug (TANJUG)—The early convening of the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress has imposed very tight deadlines on us, and our usual (in)efficiency in our work makes them even tighter. For this reason and because of regular tasks, the LCY Central Committee will be working practically without a break this summer. There will be no session of the LCY Central Committee for some 20 days in August, but the working groups preparing the party documents are working flat out, Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, told TANJUG editor Dragica Majstorovic.

At the end of the month we have a session of the Central Committee which will discuss the proposed ideopolitical bases for changing and amending the LCY statute and political pluralism with a view to preparing the congress documents. The other documents—on the reform of the economic and political system—have to be sent for public debate in the autumn, Korosec recalled. The document on the transformation of the LCY is already in the basic LC [League of Communists] organizations.

Asked if he has any indications of how the public debate is going, Korosec says it is too early for a final assessment, since discussion of that document will go on until 15 September, and comments will be received right up to the congress itself. However, initial information indicates a clearly expressed demand for the more rapid adjustment of the LC to social conditions both in its method of work and its organization. There is particular insistence on the broadening of democratization both within the LC itself and in society. Similar demands were also strongly voiced in the research carried out into party public opinion as part of preparations for the 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY.

The results of the research do show differing views in some parts of the LCY on what sort of reform of the political system there should be and the social role of the LC within it. Nevertheless, there is a united stance that further democratization of cadre policy must be carried out and that political pluralism is a reality, and its political organization within the framework of non-party pluralism is essential.

Stefan Korosec considers that the public debate on the proposals for the congress documents will yield a number of new and good suggestions and initiatives, although he admits that there is a certain discrepancy between the time spent on drawing them up and the time left for Communists to give their opinion of them. We must be completely realistic, the secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium stresses. The heavy burden of the economic crisis which is having an increasingly unfavorable effect on the living standards of the majority of the population and the already shaken reputation of the LCY in society may result in lack of interest in participation in the public debate.

That is why it has been agreed in the LC organs that an extremely serious approach must be taken to its organization. The fate of the public debate on the conclusions of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee is a more than adequate warning. This time we must fully observe the process of democratic adoption of stances. What is more, in response to proposals which we are unable to take into consideration and accept, we must also give argued and qualified reasons as to why we are unable to do so.

The problem is that on many key issues there are numerous controversies and opposing views, and we have differences on which we cannot reach agreement, and in such a situation with so many differences we cannot successfully prepare for the congress, stressed Stefan Korosec. The LCY Central Committee and its Presidium and the LC leaderships in the republics and provinces have the greatest responsibility for overcoming this situation. This has, he recalled, also had an effect on the adoption of essential decisions for the preparation of the congress, such as decisions on the venue and date of the more important gathering of Yugoslav Communists.

In addition to the three key documents—on the reform of the economic and the political system and the transformation of the LCY, it is intended that the congress will also adopt a complete program platform. It has proved essential for the LCY to come out with its own political program at the 14th extraordinary congress in which it will more precisely define its principle orientations on reform of the political system, on key principles of the social and state system, and on its concept of the new constitution.

Proceeding from such a conceptual framework, the platform will have to provide answers to these questions: What kind of socialism do we want, and what are the main aims and the character of the social system which we want to achieve; what are the key issues in redefining our projection of self-management; and what are the key issues concerning the freedom of political association of citizens and the transformation from a party to a legal state. This document, Korosec says, will go to public

debate up to the level of LC central and provincial committees. The draft of this platform, or resolutions, whichever it is called, should be ready by the middle of October.

The Central Committee should hold four or five sessions prior to the congress at which we must iron out differences on the essential issues of the development of Yugoslav society. This is the condition for the successful outcome of the forthcoming 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress.

Stefan Korosec cited the cadre transformation of the LC as one of the most important issues on which the success of social reforms hinges, because, as he said, the cadres must be the proponents of these reforms. If we do not elect young, capable, and creative people whose vision is directed towards the future and who are capable and ready to take on the burden of commitments and responsibilities, the pace of the overall reform process will be jeopardized. Every crisis, in the nature of things, casts up such cadres, and ours cannot and should not be an exception. It is up to us to find such people through the nomination of several candidates and secret ballots.

I am aware, Stefan Korosec stressed, that as a result of everything that has happened and is happening, political posts have become compromised to a large extent, and that people are unwilling to accept such posts because they carry too great a risk. Professional cadres from the fields of science, culture and education rarely go into politics. It is almost impossible to change this until we change the overall social situation, but this means that the onus on us is all the greater to do everything possible through our political work to get such individuals—who will, on the basis of the real state of affairs, seek bridges to the future, and not destroy what has already been created. Whatever the case, mediocrity is no solution, stressed Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

LC Congress Renewal Deemed 'Inevitable'

AU1108091789 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 89 p 5

[Dragan Radevic commentary: "Federation as a Guarantor of Equality"]

[Text] The recent 2-day plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] which dealt with interethnic relations has certainly failed to provide a definite answer to all challenges of the divisions we have been facing. After all, nobody expected it to do so. These divisions are rooted so deeply that nobody any longer believes that solutions can be found quickly and easily. Nevertheless, one can justifiably say that the highest party body has paid due attention to the right topic.

Nationalism remains the nightmare of the domestic political scene. The causes of its escalation lie in some spheres of our socioeconomic system, the system that has not only got us into this crisis, but has also led us away from the original principles upon which the multinational Yugoslavia has been built up. After all, this is the basis and cause of the entire domestic crisis.

It is therefore clear that the struggle against nationalism can no longer be waged on the verbal plane alone. It has to be transferred to the plane of the most thorough reforms: Instead of making promises, one should start solving the most important political, economic, and moral problems of our society. Of course, as was said at the session, one should oppose any nationalist phenomenon, wherever it may occur.

Just as in the case of all other plenums held in the past, the time will show what this plenum has achieved. However, it is clear that some speeches at it should not have been made at all. They stood out from the seriousness of the topic and the dignity of the forum at which they were made. It was not only because they were completely groundlessly and even impermissibly directed against one republic and its people, but above all because they followed a cliched scenario that the public has already rejected: This was an attack against a people (and its leadership) launched in order to use the ensuing national divisions to disguise a tough resistance to changes and to reforms in general.

An honest approach to the situation in which people appear on the political and public scene must face the truth that what people want are changes and not divisions. Spreading hatred and quarrels, as well as swearing by the reform only in words leads us nowhere at all. On the contrary, it pushes us back to the byways of European events. This is why it was confirmed at this party plenum that the League of Communists [LC] should resolutely support the only solution which can ensure a future for Yugoslavia—realizing its orientations toward reform. Only in this way can one truly affirm equality, brotherhood, and unity, and open joint prospects.

Almost no LCY Central Committee session to date has been so rich in retorts. This already tells us much about the significance of the problems discussed, because the differences that appeared there had already appeared in practice. These differences can no more be tacitly ignored but must be clearly discussed. This is particularly the case when personal views appear to be only too obvious, for example, in some aspects presented in the introductory speech, when allegedly well-argued assertions—which so many times proved themselves to be unacceptable—prevail.

It is clear to everybody, to the LC and to all our peoples and nationalities, that the basic foundations of our Federation must continue to be its cornerstone. We cannot accept to be offered a confederal model and even

some separatist tendencies which mean breaking Yugoslavia apart, and all that in the name of national affirmation, equality, and sovereignty of peoples, as Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, pointed out. Therefore, as Pancevski has put it, it is very important to keep in mind that the federal character of our community is a condition for a real national affirmation of all our peoples and nationalities and an objective expression and necessity of the economic model we decided for.

This is where we see the main importance of the recent plenum. It has confirmed again that today, as well as in the forthcoming changes to the Constitution, the federal character of our community remains to be its best foundation. It remains to be the only possible prospect of our development and of furthering international relations. To offer some other solutions cannot be historically and socially correct and well-argued. The only thing one can easily see there is a dogmatic and even separatist approach.

All efforts of our federation must become the force guaranteeing the Yugoslav peoples' and nationalities' future along the joint road toward reform. This has been clearly expressed in the stances of the Socialist Republic of Serbia on the changes in the political system which were addressed to the entire Yugoslav public—to all citizens who are justifiably concerned about the present growing divisions and quarrels. It is certain that when they are adopted (at the next LCY Central Committee session), the stances of this LCY Central Committee session will be focused on developing the federal character of our community further and strengthening democratic rights and freedoms.

At the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress we shall adopt joint solutions for the benefit and prosperity of all. This session has shown how great and urgent is the need for holding the congress, as many of those people who are to blame for the present situation, and whose stands and work have long been contrary to the adopted LCY policy and stances are still members of the LCY Central Committee. Those people who have made decisions to beat up their own people, who are tired, behind the times....

This is why, apart from reformist operations and cuts, which are important for the future life in this country, a cadre renewal of the party at the extraordinary congress is also inevitable. Whatever efforts some may be making in order to escape or avoid this renewal, they cannot do so.

This era of reforms in the top party leadership demands new, young, learned, and brave Yugoslav-oriented people with democratic but uncompromising stances. It is in this way alone that the LCY will not (as it has done so often before) only follow the social events without any active resoluteness in creating and in implementing the adopted LC policy. After all, this is what the present times and the events facing us demand of it.

Nationalism at LCY Plenum Session Viewed
AU0908164589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
5-6 Aug 89 p 1

[Jovan Radovanovic commentary: "Hell Is Always Somewhere Else"]

[Text] Has the 2-day debate at the latest plenum only deepened the disunity in the party leadership of the country?

To judge by the reactions which have resounded like an echo of everything that happened at and concerning the plenum, the answer to this question would definitely be in the affirmative. The horrifying avalanche of nationalism is threatening to bury us all together.

If some people thought that the plenum should have lasted until all of the fog was completely "cleared," it must be admitted that this kind of "clearing" of disagreements—as could be seen in these 2 days—would have done much more harm than good. The reasonable demand that the "firing" be stopped immediately could have indicated, if relations were at least somewhat less tense, a solid, pragmatic attempt to get the "belligerent" parties together around the negotiating table during the cease-fire and agree on how to conclude peace.

This is because everything in these 2 days was too reminiscent of the old saying that one does not worry about the beam in one's own eye, but sees the speck in someone else's. Less skillful speakers did not even deal in passing with "their own" nationalism, but poured all their fury onto "other people's," while somewhat more experienced speakers repeated at least several ritual condemnations of "their own" nationalism so that they could more vehemently attack all the other nationalisms.

Yes, we know that for Communists there is no "personal" and "other" nationalism; for them all nationalisms are equally "their own" and dangerous. However, it seems that Yugoslav Communists have confused something in this constant taking of stands against nationalism. If all of them have not done this, then certainly a large part of the leadership has.

Why?

It seems that the sentences that have been repeated for decades—oaths that nationalism will not succeed and the belief that in constructing everyday party policy, if no communist internationalism takes place, then at least some kind of equality of the nationally varied units—will have been completely reversed. We find ourselves in the situation today in which it is quite clear that numerous party leaderships have in some cases been overt or covert "sponsors" of nationalist awakenings. It seems that they have not thought about the fact that the

awakened monsters—with which some wanted to play for awhile and occasionally make use of—could swallow them up tomorrow. However, the monsters are adopting them even today.

What kind of picture has the 2-day plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] offered to the domestic and foreign public? Despite all the appeals of the frightened, subdued, but reasonable public, some of the members of the LCY Central Committee, who seem themselves to be gripped by the general madness in which "those others" are to blame for the troubles of "their" peoples, could find it difficult to contribute to calming down passions. They have stoked them in such a way that it is difficult to believe that at the next Central Committee plenum, the adoption of different general stands which sometimes swing to the left and sometimes to the right will be able to create the initial platform from which the first but the more than necessary joint step will be taken.

The party committee and the basic organizations in Serbia and Vojvodina, which have so far been joined by activists from Kosovo Polje, have already pilloried Racan, Dragosavac, Abadzic, Skenderagic, and Durakovic. They used their "unacceptable speeches"—as is usually said—to "insult the Serbian people" and to attack the Serbian leadership, and thus it has been demanded that their responsibility be established. Because of his "continued unacceptable stands," it has even been demanded that Dragosavac be expelled from the Central Committee and even from the LCY.

On the other hand, replying to the Novi Sad veterans, the Dalmatian veterans said: "We do not recognize the stand that 'we must fight above all against our own nationalism,' as you have cited it and as has been recently stressed, because the veterans of Dalmatia, along with all the other veterans of Yugoslavia, have been united in fighting within the borders of our country and beyond against a common enemy, occupiers, and their servants whose direct descendants are today's nationalist storm troopers in all our communities."

In this heightened atmosphere, in which hell is always somewhere else, it seems that there is no way out. However, we believe that a way out nevertheless exists. Instead of excessive worry for one's own and other's national "interests," Communists, veterans, and all of us together must realize that only in a system which will not only declaratively but also practically build into its foundations equality and the freedoms of citizens as individuals, will the true equality of all peoples and nationalities be ensured. Only then will we abandon "the counting of heads" and assessments of who "cheated" whom and who exploits whom, and only then will we cease to see the most important thing as the defense of our Croatianism, Serbianism, Slovenianism, Albanianism, Macedonianism, and so on. We have all been far more oppressed—and to an equal extent—by inflation and a worsening life, and we are all far more worried

about the fact that poverty is knocking on many doors and not choosing them according to the national rota system. These are nevertheless our real problems which can only be solved by using joint forces, regardless of which cap we like to wear and which symbol we like to decorate ourselves with. These will not help us in this struggle for existence, but quite the reverse.

Croatian President Latin Speaks on Nationalism

AU1108111989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
7 Aug 89 pp 1-3

[Unattributed report: "No One Is Happy in Poverty"]

[Text] Zubacke Ubli, 6 Aug—All of us—Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins, Slovenes, Macedonians, Muslims, and all our peoples and nationalities—have in the past been attacked and oppressed, but we have never been broken in the struggle for freedom and independence. We have fought wars together, been victorious together, achieved national and social freedom together under Tito's leadership, and created and constructed this country together—as the cradle for the creation of the equality of peoples and nationalities—through the development of each of us individually and as a group. This was stated at the magnificent people's rally, the traditional brotherhood and unity meeting at Zubacke Ubli, by Ivo Latin, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia, when he recalled the famous August days of 1941 when people at the crossroads of Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia took up arms in order to struggle to avoid enslavement and prevent a crime.

Stressing that the meeting called by the legendary fighter and hero, Sava Kovacevic, on these summer days in 1944, was of great significance for the development and organizational ties of the revolutionary liberation struggle in the area of Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Dalmatia, Latin pointed out that the meeting was particularly important because Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, and Muslims united.

Latin stressed that the deciding force, not only here, but also for the victory of our movement was in fact this united front of all our peoples and nationalities in the struggle for class and national interests, and that the national liberation was the strong driving force for social transformation.

The brotherhood and unity which developed in this epochal struggle were built into the foundations of socialist Yugoslavia. That is why an attack on Yugoslavia is also an open assault on all of us.

The 1941 uprising against the occupiers, traitors, and quislings was not the beginning, but the final decisive revolutionary stage of the long struggle for freedom and independence. The national liberation struggle and the

socialist revolution were an accomplishment which fulfilled the centuries-long dreams and aspirations for the creation of conditions in which people and nations would live and develop in freedom.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, under the leadership of Tito, led our movement as united force for the achievement of a military victory but also, in parallel with this, for the transformation of Yugoslavia in the social, economic, and political sense.

Unfortunately, added Ivo Latin, we are today faced with occurrences of serious disagreement and confrontation. This is part of the entire crisis. The most important thing is not whether all the disagreements are quarrels because it takes at least two people to quarrel. The essential thing is that this disturbs interethnic relations whose stability occupies the most vital place in Yugoslavia.

We are at a crossroads where every person should think and make decisions using their head and not their national instinct, stressed Latin, calling for us to take a stand in favor of arguments, and on this basis, for us to evaluate each person according to actual results achieved.

In Ivo Latin's view, the depth of the socioeconomic crisis has increased the area for the expansion of nationalisms, but they are reflexively connected by cause and effect because the crisis did not create our nationalisms, it is only fertile ground in which nationalism grows.

Nationalisms did not arise out of something abstract. They happen and develop in full view of all of us, regardless of experience and the warnings. It is all the more unacceptable that we only talk about, and compare the number of nationalisms apart from our own, instead of fighting against them in our own communities. We can no longer allow ourselves to confuse the causes and consequences of this evil.

The elimination of the causes and consequences of the counterrevolution in Kosovo, added Latin, must continue to have priority in concentrating the available forces in the Yugoslav community equally against the counterrevolution and in the creation of conditions for the development of the province.

Our decisiveness, continued Latin, must stop greater Albanian nationalists and prevent lasting pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins.

We must not depend on and be satisfied only with the measures undertaken there so far. The situation should be changed and not maintained.

Nationalism and separatism widely threaten the sound fabric of Albanian nationality. Therefore, Albanians must extremely and resolutely express their national dignity and Yugoslav patriotism in joint action against the common enemy. In Kosovo and in all place where

Yugoslavia is attacked, we will prevent opportunities for all nationalisms to operate only by the joint action of socialist forces from the ranks of all our peoples and nationalities.

Greater Serbian nationalism cannot beat Albanian nationalist separatism and the counterrevolution, stressed Latin. The solution is not for these two to squash each other, but for both of them to be squashed. However, all the while that nationalists have the initiative, the Kosovization of Yugoslavia will take place.

The oppression of nationalism and its janissaries must now be immediately stopped in all communities. Let us not forget that nationalisms must not be equated with the peoples whose name is being defiled and misused.

People cannot march around this country—and this would be impermissible—displaying compromised symbols from the past, nor can these symbols be imposed on other communities. It is unacceptable to rehabilitate sinister creations and their proponents who have tried in the not-too-distant past to push our peoples and nationalities into the abyss of a fratricidal war.

Ivo Latin, president of the Presidency of the SR of Croatia, stressed that the confidence and cohabitation of peoples in equality is a non-exchangeable guarantee of freedom and integrity.

We painstakingly created this, and we will always defend and preserve it, he said.

Speaking about the present crisis, Latin mentioned that we must face it in a reforming manner, which means that this should be a working and creative manner. It is crucial that our country ceases to be a discussion room for problems and their politicization from the position of particularist interests and solutions. It is essential that the country becomes a workshop for the development of all of us, both each part and all of us together.

The crisis is everywhere. It is what we have in common throughout the country, in every republic and province. All of us feel it and endure it to an equal extent. It expresses the cumulative consequences of a long period of excessive interference by the state in the economy and the inflationary financing of investment, as well as of other forms of official spending by simply printing money or transferring money earned by the economy into cost centers.

Of course, added Latin, political decisiveness alone is not enough for us to change everything. We also need the broadest creative work which creates new values accepted and valued by the market. Therefore, we must increasingly resolutely come to grips with the problems of productivity, restructuring, and the low growth rate of production, exports, and the realization of the market concept of the economy as a whole.

We must free ourselves of the illusions in theory and in practice that reform can be implemented and that development can be realized regardless of production capacities in the widest sense.

The state and party cannot overcome the crisis by themselves. This, thinks Latin, will be the most difficult test of our endurance, readiness, and ability—to this time completely and consistently carry through economic and social reform.

However, we cannot achieve our aim overnight. It is our duty to patiently realize the present's potential and create opportunities for ourselves and new generations for future success. To this effect, we must gain the initiative in economic and political life for overall development and the affirmation of the human character because only this will provide the strongest foundation for the creation of a new democratic socialist patriotism with which we can embark on a superior stage of development.

This patriotism must be a creative force on which the internal solidity of Yugoslav socialism and its openness to Europe and the world will depend.

Internally, we must be firmly Yugoslav through the full equality of peoples and nationalities, and externally we must be open to Europe and the world for dialogue and integration....

Ivo Latin, president of the Presidency of the SR of Croatia, warned in particular that no one is happy in a poor society and that in a poor society there are no strong republics and provinces and no strong Yugoslavia.

We can base our optimism only on overcoming the crisis and on development. Only full mobilization and involvement in social reform truly opens opportunities for everyone, individually and together. This will strengthen the equality of our peoples and nationalities even more and consolidate the unity of creative forces and the development of democratic relations.

This place at the crossroads of Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia and all our meetings at Zubacke Ubli impose upon us a duty to affirm ourselves in actions which will bear witness to our ability to transform ideals into reality, and they give us a basis for this. Thus, let us be resolute and persistent with no deviations and concessions in realizing the real values which will be of use to man and the development of the whole society, concluded Ivo Latin, president of the Presidency of the SR of Croatia, in his speech at the people's rally of brotherhood and unity at Zubacke Ubli.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Nationalists Are Constantly Lying in Wait

Alongside the crisis, nationalist plots are also being conducted in our country. This is not the first time that we have been faced with these. Within their lairs, they constantly lie in wait for us. The proponents of these plots endeavor to explain all the problems of society with the thesis about a supposed threat to their own nation. They of course heap the blame for everything onto other peoples. They also quite uncritically glorify everything that is theirs to an extent that is equal to insults and attacks upon other nations. Of course, nationalist attacks are targeted at everything including Yugoslavia and are absurdly let loose on the members of other nations and even on their property.

Kosovo Party Leader Urges 'Differentiation'

LD0908202589 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1726 GMT 9 Aug 89

[Text] Klina, Yugoslavia, Aug 9 (TANJUG)—The disunity in the country's leadership and in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia could be easily resolved if those who did not belong there were to leave, party leader of the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo Rahman Morina said today. The necessary differentiation must be carried out not only in Kosovo, but throughout the country, Morina told representatives of a Kosovo food-processing plant.

Morina said that the differentiation in Kosovo signified a battle for communists, and was not aimed at discarding people. He also said that the recent constitutional changes in Serbia, of which Kosovo is a part, were carried out for the benefit of all.

Kosovo Polje Citizens Threaten To Hold Rally

AU1308161789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
9 Aug 89 p 3

[R. Barjaktarevic report: "Romania on 'Remote Control'"]

[Excerpts] Kosovo Polje, 7 Aug—The speech by Stipe Suvar, member of the SFRY Presidency, in Sinj [on 6 August] has undermined the self-confidence of the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo Polje gained through the introduction of special measures. If the SFRY Presidency does not immediately dissociate itself from Stipe Suvar's speech, the Kosovo Polje Serbs and Montenegrins will organize rallies again. The first mass rally will be held at Mount Romania in Sokolac on 13 August at the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo.

This was concluded at a meeting of the citizens of Kosovo Polje this evening, at which the participants discussed the deteriorating political-security situation and the citizens' future moves to overcome the situation in the country.

The people have to organize themselves again because the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is not able to deal with the unacceptable speech by Dusan Dragosavac. This was stated by Boro Dzelatovic, who also said the following: If Fadilj [Fadilj Hodza], Vlasi [Azem Vlasi], and Dragosavac had worked in the same way that Milosevic had to create unity among the peoples and nationalities, then we would have sung to them and we would have carried their pictures. In Sokolac we will prove that we are in favor of the unity of this country.

All the masks have now been "removed." Let us see what else needs to be done. One third of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is striving for stabilization and the remaining two are blocking it. The separatists have also regrouped themselves. Former Kosovo officials Remzi Koljgeci, Kacusa Jasari, Vojislav Zajic, Nedeljko Pupavac, and others have again found employment in the provincial organs, and enjoy the support of Suvar and Dragosavac. This was stated by Milenko Buljic.

Slavko Djumic accused Miroslav Solevic of leaderism [liderstvo] and giving support to Suvar. He also called former Kosovo official Dusan Ristic the greatest self-proclaimed leader of the Serbian people in Kosovo....

According to Rade Tomic, it was not the time to talk about Solevic, Kecman, Bulatovic, Budimirovic, or Ristic, but about going to Bosnia. "We will carry Serbian flags and pictures of Slobodan Milosevic. Let anybody dare forbid us that." This was stated by Rade Tomic, editor of the Radio Pristina program in Serbo-Croatian. Zoran Grujic spoke in a similar way. [passage omitted]

According to Ljubomir Vujovic, the "remote control" device for controlling the picture in Kosovo has been transferred from Slovenia to Croatia. We will dismantle it at Romania. [passage omitted]

All of the participants in the meeting spoke about self-organizing and "marching" on Romania. They agreed to gather together in the evening on 12 August with as many as possible and to be ready to depart for Romania. They also said that they will send a protest letter to the SFRY Presidency immediately.

Draft Amendments to Slovene Constitution
AU1008125789

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 7 August carries a pull-out supplement containing an approximately 25,000-word text of the working version of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution with accompanying explanations.

In a brief introduction to the amendments BORBA states that "although the working version of the majority of the proposed amendments has been endorsed, everything is still open, which is to say that the Constitutional Commission will continue to receive until 7 September other proposals about which it will decide at its session scheduled for 27 September."

In view of that, BORBA only publishes in full the amendments adopted so far, including explanations of them, as well as a list of outstanding questions concerning the duties of the Slovene Assembly.

Montenegrin Trade Union Calls for Price Freeze
AU1008163789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
9 Aug 89 p 1

[J.L. report: "Freeze in the Middle of Summer"]

[Text] Titograd, 8 Aug—Conditions must be created for all employed people in Montenegro to earn enough at their job to support themselves and their families so that they do not have to do so by using social security measures. This is one of the basic conclusions reached today at the session of the Presidium of the Montenegrin Trade Union Organization.

Because of this kind of social situation in Montenegro, the Presidium of the Trade Union Organization demanded from the competent organs to freeze the price of flour, milk, sugar, edible oil, and other basic foodstuffs, as well as electricity which considerably affects the standard of living. If the prices are not frozen immediately, and this freeze does not remain in force until the end of the year, the Presidium is of the opinion that there could be social unrest of wider proportions and that it could have unforeseeable consequences. If the increases in the price of electricity are inevitable, the trade union is demanding that the workers who have a lower than average income and a large number of pensioners be provided with a supplement for the cost of electricity which would be raised through the taxation on luxury goods.

Zagreb Reports Political Offense Statistics
LD1008211289 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 10 Aug 89

[Excerpt] At a session of the Executive Council of the Croat Assembly, it was said that magistrates in Knin, Makarska, Sinj, and Imotski found 18 persons guilty of minor political offenses in the period from 26 July to 9 August. These people were sentenced to imprisonment

lasting from 15 to 60 days. A report on crime and minor offenses by the republican secretariat for judiciary and administration cites that most charges for political acts were brought by the municipal magistrate in Knin, a total of 13, for minor offenses carried out at the celebrations of the 600th anniversary of the Kosovo battle in Knin, which took place on 9 July. These people were sentenced to imprisonment ranging from 30 to 60 days. The Makarska magistrate found two people guilty, while in Sibenik and Split three people were sentenced. [passage omitted]

Death Sentence Carried Out in Vojvodina

AU1008175989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
9 Aug 89 p 3

[Z.R. report: "Death Sentence Carried Out"]

[Text] Novi Sad—According to a statement issued by the Vojvodina Supreme Court, the death sentence passed on Laslo Tubicak from Mol has been carried out. The convicted Laslo Tubicak unscrupulously murdered militiamen in Temerin and carried out several major robberies.